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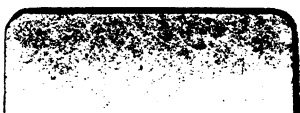
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The Brewing Industry
and the
Brewery Workers' Movement
in America

By HERMANN SCHLÜTER.

CINCINNATI, O.

Published by the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America.

1910.

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PREFACE.

ONLY in very recent times, and then only to a very imperfect degree, is it possible to gather from the historical records of any industry any information with regard to the conditions of the workingmen and the part played by them in industrial development.

This applies especially to the scanty literature which deals with the development of the beer-brewing industry in the United States. In this literature the brewery workmen receive no attention, and one who seeks to learn something of their condition must have recourse to occasional publications in old newspapers and to verbal tradition.

The present work undertakes, therefore, besides the historical account of the development of the beer-brewing industry, to portray the conditions of the workmen employed in it, to show the development of the organization which they founded in order to better their lot, to record the struggles which they had to wage in defense of their interests. In contrast to former writings on the brewing industry in this country, it is the purpose of the present work to emphasize the part played by the workingmen in the industry and to treat the subject from the workmen's standpoint. It is not a "non-partisan" work which is here offered, but one which seeks to advance the interests of the workers.

The significance of the trade unions and of the labor movement generally for the working class can be seen all the more clearly in the history of the brewery workmen's movement and its development, because this movement began only a comparatively short time ago; the difference in the condition of the workmen before and after the

organization exhibits a contrast which must convince everyone of the advantage of trade unions and the struggle of the workingmen for the improvement of their condition. For the brewery workmen themselves the history of their organization is of importance because the knowledge gained thereby will enable them to make use of the lessons of the past in their present and future struggles—to correct the errors which were formerly committed, and to give due consideration in the future struggles to the weapons which were useful in the past.

Not only for the brewery workmen, but for workmen of other trades, this history of the brewery workmen's movement contains many a valuable lesson and many a good example. The progressive and militant spirit of the organization, especially the extraordinary solidarity which has obtained in the brewery workmen's movement, were the causes of the rapid success which was achieved. Without these it would have been impossible to gain the advantages which the Brewery Workmen's Union has won—that improvement which has actually come about in the condition of the brewery workmen in the last quarter of a century. The whole working class can learn from the history of the brewery workmen how and in what spirit trade struggles must be conducted.

Not only the working class, however, but the capitalists also, may be able to learn something from this work. It is possible that there are still a few brewery capitalists here and there who imagine that the time will come when the brewery workmen's organization will be annihilated and the former idyllic conditions will return. If any such there be, let it be said to them here that in reading this book they may learn that modern industry and the modern labor movement are indissolubly connected, that the existence of the one without the other is hardly conceivable, and that the trade and labor movement is a

necessary result of the industrial development of any trade. They who would conduct production on a large scale and turn out goods by the method of great industry, must take into account the labor movement with its struggles and victories. The greater number of the brewery capitalists have come to recognize this and have become familiar with the idea that the brewers' unions and the United Brewery Workmen are things which they must take into account, in one form or another, as long as capital and wage-labor exist.

The various questions which have arisen in the brewery workers' organization in the course of time and which are considered in this work are here all judged from the point of view of the entire labor movement. The welfare of the whole working class, and the advancement of its aspirations, not merely the welfare of any single group or trade, ought to be the supreme law for all who consider themselves the spokesmen of labor. The general acceptance of this fundamental principle in the trade-union movement of this country would free it from the narrow-minded character which is still to be found in many of its more conservative branches and which is detrimental to the movement as a whole.

A discussion of the Prohibition movement and all that is related to it could not be omitted from a work treating of the brewing industry in a country where, more than in any other land, the efforts of the Prohibitionists have come into conflict with the brewery interests. But in this, as in all other matters, the interests of the workers differ from those of the capitalists in the industry. In this matter also the workingmen must follow their own course and represent their own class interests, which are not identical either with those of the Prohibitionists or with those of the brewery capitalists. The position of the brewery

workmen with regard to this question is here considered from this point of view.

May the brewery workmen learn from their own history that a firm and unified organization is necessary to maintain and improve their condition, and that constant readiness for battle is half the victory. May the record of their struggles in the past inspire them to new endeavors for the attainment of that great goal toward which the whole progressive labor movement of the world is striving—the emancipation of labor from all the fetters which oppress it today.

THE AUTHOR.

New York, 1909.

PART I.

The Beer-Brewing Industry.

INTRODUCTION.

FROM the time when man first took up the struggle for food, clothing and shelter, when men's activities were first directed to labor—that is, to definite efforts to supply themselves with the necessities of life, we find, in accordance with the scriptural saying that “man shall not live by bread alone,” the production and use of intoxicating drinks. Hardly any people has been able to dispense with the stimulating effect of such drinks. The most ancient traditions give an account of the production of beverages made by the fermentation of saccharine liquids. The biblical antiquity of wine production is well known. Travelers among peoples never before reached by civilization find even there intoxicating beverages of various kinds. It would seem that the only regions in which such drinks have not achieved a lasting domination are those countries where opium, hashish, or similar substances serve the purpose of helping men to forget for a while their daily sufferings and anxieties.

As has been said, the Bible tells stories of the effects of excessive indulgence in wine. In very early times we learn also of beverages produced by the fermentation of some kind of grain. This “beer” of ancient times, it is true, was very different from the beverage which is known under that name by all civilized peoples today. Our modern beer is indeed the product of a long development, and the production of this beverage is influenced by social conditions. But at any rate it may be said that the production of intoxicating drinks from grain, often flavored with aromatic substances, has appeared wherever man has acquired the art of cultivating the soil and has adopted a more or less settled habitation, except only in those countries where the use of other means of intoxication

and stimulation have made the use of fermented drinks unnecessary.

Our oldest records of the making of drinks by the fermentation of grain come from ancient Egypt. The traditions related that Osiris, an Egyptian king, introduced beer into his realm two thousand years before the time of Christ. In this case truth surpasses fiction. From papyrus documents and inscriptions which have been found in Egyptian tombs and ruins, it appears that something known as "barley-wine," and even several kinds of it, were produced in this ancient civilization as much as five thousand years ago. An exact description of a Pharaonic brewery has been discovered, and in sepulchral inscriptions have been found recipes for the making of beer. From Greek writers it seems that five hundred years before our era this barley wine was the common drink of the Egyptians. In Egyptian tombs has been found malted barley which had been preserved there for thousands of years. We are told, indeed, that the students of ancient Egypt were very fond of beer, and that not infrequently they forgot their studies over their cups, as sometimes happens in modern times. It is certain, then, that the ancient Egyptians produced a beer-like beverage by transforming barley into malt, adding saffron and other spices, and allowing it to ferment. There was even an Egyptian Munich; Pelusium, a city at the mouth of the Nile, was famous as a beer city.

It was not only the Egyptians who learned the art of brewing at an early period; it was familiar also to the ancient civilizations of Asia. As early as 1100 B. C. the Chinese government issued decrees forbidding the excessive drinking of beer. This Chinese beer was probably made from rice. It is an interesting fact that among the Chinese of that time we find drinking customs which are almost identical with those of the present. The "Rund-

trinken"—that is, the passing around of a filled horn from which all drank in turn—which is so popular in modern drinking clubs and among students and turners, was in vogue in ancient China. The drinking of healths, toasts, and similar drinking customs also prevailed. In fact, the old Chinese seem to have been so fond of health-drinking that their religious teacher, Confucius, deemed it necessary to preach emphatically against the drinking of intoxicating liquors, just as our religious leaders feel themselves called upon to do today.

In ancient India, at the same period, they brewed a beverage for the making of which malt was used. This fermented drink, called "soma," was used in their religious ceremonies. The Hindus, in whose religious observances intoxication played an important part, used to pray to their god: "O Indra, we call upon you to sit down among us and get drunk with us, your friends!"

The preparation of beer seems to have come to the northern peoples from Egypt, but it is possible that it was independently developed among them. In wine countries, such as Italy and Greece, the beer brewing industry could not make any headway. Indeed, beer was despised in these countries. In many Mediterranean lands, however, where beer is practically unknown today, we find that before and at the beginning of the Christian era there was a comparatively large use of beer-like beverages. Among the Iberians of the present Spain a kind of beer was made from barley and wheat. They soaked the grain in water and kept it warm till it sprouted. Then it was dried and ground into a meal and used for the preparation of a fermented drink. In Gaul also a similar beverage was in use, and it is said that in some backward parts of France, England and Belgium, with an originally Keltic population, this Keltic beer has continued in use to the present day.

Among the peoples of Asia Minor, especially on the Black Sea coasts, we find beer at an early time as the national drink. Even about 400 B. C. the Armenians in Asia Minor produced a barley wine which was highly intoxicating and which they drank through straws because the grains of barley swam in the liquid. About 700 B. C. we learn that the Phrygians and Thracians drank beer, and it is further reported that some tribes on the Black Sea used beer to intoxicate their warriors before they went into battle. These means are said to be still used today to inspire soldiers with martial ardor when they are sent out to meet death by the rulers of the earth.

It is reported by Roman writers that the national drink of the ancient Germans was a beverage made of barley and wheat. It also appears that they were then familiar with the preparation of malt.

Thus we see that in almost all countries of antiquity the preparation of beverages by fermentation from grain was in vogue, and that only where other drinks, especially wine, made these beer-like beverages superfluous beer brewing did not thrive.

These beers of antiquity were all made without hops, except perhaps in China, where hops were used at an early date to flavor the beer. In the brewing of ancient countries, however, we find other aromatic plants used for flavoring beer. In some places, for example, young sprigs of pine were added to the beverage. It has not yet been established with certainty just when the use of hops began. It seems that this plant was brought into Europe from the East by the barbarian migrations. Hop gardens are first mentioned in a grant which was issued in the year 768. But it is not certain whether hops were at that time used for the preparation of beer. A German abess states later that hops were not used in beer-brewing until the eleventh century. About 1070 hops were very

commonly planted in the province of Magdeburg and in Bavaria.

The word "beer" is of German origin. The etymology is disputed. While some scholars derive it from the Old Saxon "bere" (barley), others trace it to the Old German "peor" (also "bior," "pier") and Middle Latin "biber" or "biberis" (beverage). Another old Germanic expression for beer was "alu" ("alo," "ealo"), which has remained in the English "ale."

By the legendary "inventor" of beer-brewing, Gambrinus, who, as we have seen, had in reality nothing to do with the invention of this art, is to be understood Jan Primus, (Johann the First), Duke of Brabant, of whose name Gambrinus is a corruption. Jan Primus lived at the end of the twelfth century and was made an honorary member of the brewing guild of Brussels; when in the fourteenth century brewers' guilds were formed all over, they selected "King Gambrinus," who in the meantime had become a legendary figure, as their patron.

We see that the history of beer-brewing reaches back into the oldest records of mankind. Even when historic facts are lost in the mist of legend, the traditions tell of beverages which the primitive peoples prepared by fermenting grains.

"There is nothing new under the sun!"

CHAPTER I.

The Beer-Brewing Industry in the Middle Ages.

1. IN GERMANY.

IN studying the development of the beer-brewing industry in the Middle Ages it is important to consider the part played by the monasteries and their inmates. Originally the preparation of beer was a part of the work of the household, and as such was performed principally by the women. In the ninth century the monasteries began to take up the brewing of beer. They erected larger brewhouses, in which beer of the best quality was produced in larger quantities. As early as the year 816 the monastery of St. Gallen had its brewhouse, and two centuries later we find that not only all the larger monasteries, but also all the important courts and castles of the rulers had their own brewing plants. From the monasteries brewing passed into the cities, which began to develop principally in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the eleventh century beer was drunk in Hamburg, which came from Bremen, Brunswick, Halberstadt, Wismar, and Goslar. Until the fourteenth century, first Bremen and then Hamburg played an important part in the brewing industry. In the thirteenth century we find breweries existing in all the larger cities of Middle and South Germany. Home brewing was the rule, and the licensed brewer brewed as much as he could sell. Then came the municipal brewhouses, in which each inhabitant might brew his own beer, in a certain order and at a fixed time, paying a tax to the city for the privilege.

The cities charged a duty on the importation of beer made in other places, and in some cases innkeepers were even forbidden to sell it. Princes and bishops even at

this time saw that the brewing business would furnish an excellent means of filling their pockets. They claimed the brewing and sale of beer as their exclusive right and granted the privilege of selling it only on condition of large payments to themselves. The taxation of beer and punishment for evasion of the tax were even then widespread. At Aix in the year 1272 such evasion of the beer tax was punished by chopping off the right hand, and the law provided that the house in which beer was brewed without the tax having been paid should be demolished. The brewers who made bad beer were not treated quite so severely. At Dantzic they were set in the pillory.

The grain then principally used in brewing was barley, though wheat was also employed to some extent. Only in years when there was a bad harvest and therefore a shortage of bread, the use of oats was officially prescribed. This happened at Augsburg in 1433 and at Breslau in 1533. In the latter city, about the year 1300, we find that malting was a separate business from brewing. In 1290 at Nuremberg a decree was issued commanding that brewers use barley and expressly forbidding the use of oats, spelt, rye, or wheat.

In the fourteenth century North Germany was the chief seat of the beer-brewing industry, and from that time till the sixteenth century it flourished in all the Hansa cities. From these cities much beer was exported, and Hamburg beer even reached Asia by way of Novgorod in Russia. In the year 1376 Hamburg is said to have had no less than 1,075 breweries; we must not imagine, however, that these were large establishments like those of modern times. The Hansards knew how to stimulate the spirits of their soldiers by the use of fermented drinks. In the year 1399, when seven Hansa cities decided to lay siege to Stockholm, it was agreed that certain ones of them were to send large quantities of beer in order to

raise the fighting spirit of the men. Einbecker beer, made in the Hanoverian city of Einbeck, had a particularly high reputation in the Middle Ages. It is said that Einbecker beer was sent as far as Jerusalem. In the large cities of Germany there were special houses where this beer was sold. The Einbecker House in Hamburg was in existence till the great fire of 1842. What Munich is today, that was Einbeck in the Middle Ages—the beer city par excellence. Only the devastations of the Thirty Years' war put an end to the fame of Einbeck as a brewing city and to the importance of the brewing industry throughout North Germany.

2. IN ENGLAND.

At the end of the ancient and beginning of the medieval period the art of beer-brewing was not confined to Germany; in England it was then no less developed. The art had been brought over from France, and the method of preparation was similar to that already described as in use in Spain.

Excessive indulgence in beer had a bad effect upon the English people at this period. Drunkenness was very common in England in the eighth century, and priests and monks did not set a good example to the common folk in this respect. The church and its associations actually promoted the drink habit. The great number of festivals which the church held in honor of the numerous saints developed into regular drinking bouts. Drinking went on even inside the church. Beer was brewed specially for these festivals, and the people who attended them also brought quantities with them from home. Those were thirsty times, and we may be sure that no one left the festival till the last drop was finished in honor of the saint.

Such excessive drinking at church festivals is found also in Denmark and Germany at this time. It is partly to be explained by the fact that attendance at the festivals was not prompted solely by religious motives; in the main what brought the people together was the opportunity found to transact their business there, to sell their products and to buy whatever they needed. Various kinds of handicraft were carried on in the monasteries and at the festivals the products were sold to the peasants.

In the centuries that followed the people of England were never averse to taking a drop. The masses drank ale, beer, and mead; but among the rich, and especially in the monasteries, the use of wine gained ground. It is historically reported that at the battle of Hastings, which was fought between the English and the Normans in the year 1066, the whole English army was drunk when it went into action. Here again the old means were used by those in power to instill a fighting spirit into the warriors.

In general, each household looked out for the satisfaction of its own thirst; that is, each family brewed enough beer for its own use. Only in the monasteries was beer made in larger quantities. The numerous "ale houses," which were already very common in England in the eighth century, also brewed their own supplies. These ale houses were mostly kept by women, who were not always of the most virtuous character, and their great number promoted the drinking habit. The authorities frequently tried, by various regulations, to check drunkenness and elevate the general moral tone. They aimed to permit only one ale house in each place and to set a limit to the amount of beer that could be brewed or sold at each, by limiting the amount of grain which the owner was permitted to purchase; whoever bought more was punished in the most cruel manner of the times. Beer was cheap, in spite of the high value of money. For one

penny one could get three or four gallons of beer or ale. Later on, the price of the drink was regulated by the authorities according to the price of grain. In the year 1266 it was provided that when wheat cost three shillings to three shillings fourpence a quarter (eight bushels), barley 1s. 8d., and oats 1s. 4d., brewers in the cities must sell two gallons of beer or ale for a penny. In the rural districts they had to sell three or four gallons for a penny. By the middle of the fifteenth century the price of beer had risen considerably. The best quality was sold at twopence a gallon, second quality at a penny, and third grade at a halfpenny a gallon.

As already mentioned, the ale houses were usually kept by women. The frequenters of these houses also were not confined to the male sex. The English women of that time liked a good drink and furnished a steady contingent of visitors to the drinking places. To combine use with pleasure, they used to bring food with them—"sometimes fish and sometimes flesh," as a song of the time says—and ate and drank together. It is said that our picnics grew out of this custom.

It is not quite clear how beer differed from ale before the use of hops was introduced. Both terms were in use in England. Not until 1440 were hops added to the beer; but before that time various other aromatic substances were used to flavor the drink—pepper, nutmeg, ground-ivy, and other materials. Oak and ash bark were also added to beer. Hops came to England by way of Holland. Their use met with much opposition and was frequently entirely forbidden because the plant was supposed to be injurious to health. From that time on the beverage made with hops was called beer and that without hops ale. But later on it became customary to add hops even to ale, in order to make it keep longer. In the year 1440 the difference between ale and beer was defined as

being, that ale had to be used while fresh, while beer was made to keep by the use of hops. An especially good and strong brew was at that time made in March. The Englishman had his "March ale" as the German now has his "Märzen-bier." It is most likely that this term and this custom was carried from one country to the other, perhaps by traveling monks, the principal artists in the beer-brewing of that time.

To what an extent beer-brewing went on in England in the Middle Ages and how great was the consumption of beer by the people is shown by the fact that in the year 1650 in the city of London 1,500,000 barrels of beer were sold. Not less than 13,000,000 barrels were consumed yearly in England, and that country then had a population of 5,000,000. This means more than two and a half barrels per head, counting men, women and children.

CHAPTER II.

The Beer-Brewing Industry in the American Colonial Period.

1. NEW ENGLAND.

IN view of the extensive use of beer in England and the importance of the brewing industry at that time, it is but natural that with the settling of North America by the English the preparation and consumption of beer was brought over to this country.

In December, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in the harbor of Plymouth. When a small party went on shore to reconnoitre and found no water to quench their thirst, one of them laughingly remarked that it was a pity they had not brought along some beer from the supply on board the Mayflower. The Christmas festival was celebrated on board the Mayflower, it is reported, with a good drink of beer, a proof that the Puritans of that time, unlike their successors, knew how to combine their religious observance and convictions with the use of alcoholic beverages.

In the first year of the settlement the colonists planted the grain necessary for brewing beer, but with poor result, for the soil of Massachusetts was not well suited for the raising of barley. They therefore imported the materials for brewing, and also some beer itself, from England. In the year 1629 forty-five barrels of beer and four hundred-weight of hops were brought to Massachusetts Bay at one shipment. Malt was also imported after the attempt to make it from maize had been tried with but slight success. A poem of that time informs us that the Pilgrim Fathers had such a tremendous thirst after alcoholic drinks that for want of beer they made intoxicating

beverages out of pumpkins, parsnips, and shavings of walnut wood.

John Jenney was the first professional brewer who came to Plymouth, in 1623, but it is not known whether he pursued his trade in the colonies. In the beginning, brewing in America was naturally a domestic occupation; the colonists brewed beer, just as they baked bread, for the use of their own families. The government of the colony, however, soon discovered that the taxation of beer was an excellent means of meeting the public expenses. As early as 1637 the General Court of Massachusetts enacted a law imposing a fine of one hundred pounds on any person who should brew "beer, malt, or other beverages" without a license; it is possible that this referred only to the brewing of beverages for sale, while brewing in one's house for household use was free to all. At this time the same authorities granted a monopoly of brewing to a certain Captain Sedgwick, who had already erected a brew-house "at his own expense," as was strongly emphasized.

The saloon license and the advantages which it gives to the authorities were also soon discovered by the shrewd Pilgrim Fathers. In 1634 the first tavern license was issued in Boston to one Samuel Cole, to whom the right of selling beer was granted. Two decades after the founding of the colony there existed a number of places where one could get a draught of beer for money and a few pleasant words.

The government of the colony made various regulations in regard to the preparation, price, and sale of beer. In 1637 the brewers of Massachusetts were forbidden to sell stronger beers to tavern keepers than such as cost eight shillings a barrel. In 1640 it was decreed that no one should be allowed to brew beer unless he was a good brewer. The price of beer was also regulated. Beer that

sold for threepence per quart had to contain six bushels of malt per hogshead; beer for twopence per quart, four bushels; at one penny a quart, two bushels; and less proportionately. In 1645 the price of beer was fixed at twopence a quart. In 1677 it was officially decreed in Massachusetts that beer which contained three bushels of malt per barrel was to be sold at threepence a quart. Every additional bushel of malt per barrel raised the price of beer one penny. In spite of all their piety, the Pilgrim Fathers seem at an early time to have known the adulteration of beer. In 1677 the General Court of Massachusetts established a regulation according to which beer might only be prepared from good barley malt. Additions of syrup, raw sugar, or any materials other than malt were punishable with a fine of five pounds for each offense. The authorities also looked out for the comfort of travelers and in October, 1649, the General Court issued an order that each hotel keeper must keep good beer, so that travelers should not be compelled to buy expensive wines.

In spite of the fact, already mentioned, that barley could not be raised to great advantage in Massachusetts, so that most of the malt had to be imported, beer was in the middle of the seventeenth century an important staple of trade in this colony. A historical writer remarks that beer was at that time the favorite drink of the colony. Large quantities of beer brewed in Albany, New Amsterdam, and other places were shipped by way of Boston.

In the meantime, beer-brewing had been introduced in the other New England colonies. In 1638 was opened the first tavern in Rhode Island, which was used also as a brewery and a grocery store. In 1640 Ipswich built its own municipal malt-house, but it was ordered that no one was to malt old wheat except for his own use. We learn that in 1641 Watertown erected a malt-house and

that the raising of hops was then common. This city had at that time two breweries.

The demand for malt was mostly supplied by importation from Europe. The colonies, however, imposed a duty on malt and in the year 1665 Boston merchants who imported malt appealed to the General Court for a reduction or abolition of the tariff. Their requests were fruitless. On the contrary, a few years later, the General Court increased the import duty from one penny a bushel to seven pence. The intention was to protect the home product, in spite of the fact that barley did not thrive in Massachusetts.

It can hardly be said that Connecticut had in the first century of its settlement a complete beer-brewery. Here the greatest efforts were made to produce malt from maize for home brewing; but they met with very little success.

The first license for beer brewing in New Hampshire was granted in 1670 to Samuel Wentworth, who lived in Portsmouth.

Beer-brewing spread wherever the colonists dispossessed the red men from the land. The wider the white man's territory, the greater the domination of the beverage prepared from barley, hops and water.

2. NEW AMSTERDAM.

To a far greater degree than in the New England colonies, beer-brewing was developed during the first century of the colonial period in New Amsterdam, the present New York. The brewing industry flourished on Manhattan Island at that time to a higher degree than it ever has since then, and the fame of New Amsterdam beer was widely extended. The first Dutch settlers of Manhattan were familiar with the preparation of beer, for in Holland the art of brewing was widespread. There is no doubt, therefore, that the first inhabitants of Man-

hattan brewed their own house beer, but shortly after the settlement brewing became an independent industry. As early as 1612 Adrian Block and Hans Christiansen erected at the south end of Manhattan Island a row of buildings, of which one soon became a beer-brewery. This was the first brewery in America, and the building is of further interest because the first white child in New York was born under its roof. This child was Jean Vigne, who later became famous as a brewer, and played an important part in the public life of the colony.

This first brewery in New Amsterdam was followed by several others. Their success induced the government of the colony to erect its own brewery. The erection of this first public brewery in America was begun in 1632, during the administration of Peter Minuit, and was completed under his successor, Van Twiller. This government brewery stood on the so-called West India Company's farm, and was situated in the Marckveldt, the present Whitehall street. In March, 1633, this brewery sold beer for the first time to the colonists. The "state beer," however, was sold only until 1638. Private breweries had by that time made such progress that the government institution was not able to meet their competition and closed its doors. The building was converted into a warehouse.

Under Governor Van Twiller, who was a jolly fellow and liked a good swig, the number of drinking places increased greatly in Manhattan, and with them also increased drunkenness. The first "saloon" was opened under Minuit, Van Twiller's predecessor as Governor of New Amsterdam. But at that time in all of these drinking places there was sold more wine and whiskey than beer. The mother country was careful to see that her sons across the sea were well provided by the importation of all kinds of spirituous drinks.

In the year 1638, when Wilhelm Kieft took the place of the jolly Van Twiller as Governor, he felt himself compelled to take steps against drunkenness. In the first year of his administration, he forbade the retail sale of wine and whiskey by tavern keepers, so that they could sell only beer. The result of this measure was a considerable revival in brewing and the sale of beer. This fact suggested to Kieft, who was not only a pious man, but, as so often happens, also a shrewd business man, the idea of putting a tax on beer, in order to replenish the empty coffers of state. The business sense of Kieft was shown in the prohibition of the sale of wine or whiskey in taverns, because this gave the monopoly of the sale of these drinks to the West India Company—that is, to the government. How little the measure was prompted by a desire to prevent drunkenness is evident from the fact that Kieft set up a distillery, the first in this region.

In June, 1644, Kieft and his advisers decided to put a tax on beer. The income derived from it was to be used for clothing the soldiers and repairing parts of the fortifications which had fallen to ruin. Besides the governor, the colony had a kind of popular representative body, and this body protested against the tax because it had been imposed without their consent. But Kieft disregarded the protest and issued a proclamation giving the details of the tax. For every half-barrel retailed by the tavern keepers two guilders (80 cents) was to be paid to the state, the brewer and the tavern keeper each paying half. Every citizen who brewed beer for home use was to pay at half the rate. Wine and whiskey were also taxed proportionately.

This was the first instance of the taxation of drinks in America, but the example was soon followed by the New England colonies. The measure did not end with imposing a tax, but included various regulations as to

the preparation and sale of drinks. The system of concessions and licenses for the retailing of alcoholic drinks was developed. The price and quality of beer were minutely prescribed. It was provided that no liquors were to be sold during the hours of church service, and every evening at nine o'clock the ringing of the city hall bell gave notice that all taverns must close. A kind of supervision of the brewing itself was introduced; the brewers had to inform the governor as to the quantity of beer they had produced before they could get permission to sell it.

The taxation of drinks was such a convenient way of providing funds for the state that Governor Kieft, soon after the imposition of the first tax, raised the amount to three guilders (\$1.20) per barrel. This increase of the tax was also effected without the consent of the popular representatives—the “eight men,” a kind of assembly. If the introduction of the tax made bad blood, the raising of it intensified the agitation. Brewing as an independent industry had developed greatly. The brewers had all become rich and were considered “good citizens” and therefore exercised a great influence. A general opposition arose against the tax and against the manner in which it had been imposed. In order to pacify the brewers and tavern keepers, the governor permitted them to add the tax to the price of the goods which they made and sold, so that not the brewer nor the dealer, but the consumer, would have to bear the burden. But the agitation had gone so far that the brewers and dealers refused to pay the tax, basing their action on the fact that the consent of the “eight men” had not been given to its imposition, and this was a violation of the rights of the citizens. But Kieft paid no attention to this argument and he forced the brewers to pay the tax by simply confiscating the supply of beer in their cellars and giving his soldiers an opportunity to get a good drink. In 1642 the governor

set up a government inn, which he tried to further by granting all sorts of privileges. A monopoly was created for the accomodation of travelers who came for the most part from New England and Virginia to New Amsterdam. Strangers were not permitted to stay more than one night with a private family, and were thus compelled to stay at the government inn, and pay money for their accommodation.

In the year 1647 Kieft was recalled and Peter Stuyvesant succeeded him as governor of the colony. It was demanded that he revoke the tax on beer, but on the contrary a new tax was imposed and new regulations promulgated for the control of brewing and selling. Stuyvesant ordered a complete separation of the business of selling from that of brewing; the brewers were forbidden to retail their product, and the tavern keepers were not allowed to brew their own beer, which had up to that time been customary. Governor Stuyvesant tried to encourage the coming of visitors to the city by seeing to it that there were good hotels where they could stop.

It would seem that about this time the consumption of spirituous drinks was comparatively high in New Amsterdam. According to a report of Stuyvesant, about the year 1651, a quarter of the city of New Amsterdam consisted of whiskey-saloons, tobacco stores, and beer houses. Perhaps this should not be taken literally, but the fact remains that the consumption of intoxicating drinks was enormous. The income from the tax on drinks amounted to four gulden per head for each man, woman, and child. Governor Stuyvesant, to whom drunkenness and love-making on Sunday were an especial horror, tried to oppose the excessive use of alcoholic drinks, but at the same time kept the interest of the treasury always in mind. The tavern keepers were forbidden to sell wine, beer, or other "strong waters" to any but travelers or

boarders. Any transgression of the law was punished by revocation of the license and every customer who got a drink unlawfully had to pay a fine of six Karolus guilders (\$29). Tavern keepers and grocers were compelled to get licenses in order to sell drink, the payment for which went into the coffers of the colony. The tax on beer was constantly increased, but Stuyvesant did not permit the brewers to raise the price of beer. He evidently feared that the consumption of beer would fall off and that the revenue would suffer. The high taxation, however, led to the making of bad beer and the drinking public complained loudly that with each increase of the tax the brewers made the beer thinner and worse. This induced Stuyvesant finally to permit the price of beer to be raised in proportion to the increase of the tax. At the same time he issued exact regulations for the preparation of the beverage. According to these regulations, beer in New Amsterdam at that time was made of barley, wheat, or oats. When there was a dearth of any one of these grains, its use in malting was forbidden. The law recognized three different grades of beer. For the best, six bushels of malt per hogshead were prescribed, for the second grade four bushels, and for the third grade two. Complaints in regard to bad beer were considered by a court composed of the burgomaster and schoeppen.

In the end Stuyvesant was worsted in his battle with the brewers. The popular representation, upon which the brewers had great influence, finally voted to have the tax law repealed.

Although New Amsterdam, which was raised to the rank of a city in 1653, had but a small population (in 1677 it had only three or four thousand inhabitants), still the number of its independent brewers was very large, and these played an important part in the public life of the city. William Beekman, who for forty years held public offices

in New Amsterdam, was a brewer. He ran a brewery which had been built in 1654 and which was situated at the corner of William and Beekman streets, both of which are supposed to have been named after him. In the year 1653 there existed a brewery which belonged to Petrus Rutgers. In 1683 two brothers Bayard operated a brewery in the city. Leonard Lispenard and Van Courtlandt were brewers in New Amsterdam and their names are perpetuated in the names of New York streets. An influential member of the burgomasters' council of the city was a brewer named Martin Krieger. The town house was originally the "Stadt Harberg," the beer of which has been mentioned in the documents of that time as being "as good as what can be had in the old Fatherland."

Another tavern of that time was located at the present 9-11 Broadway. At No. 1 Broadway, Peter Kohrs had a tavern. The present Stone street was called Brouwer straat, because a number of rich brewers had their homes there.

In September, 1664, the Dutch turned over New Amsterdam to the English. The first English governor of the colony also fixed his attention upon the brewing industry. In a bill introduced by him it was provided that no one should brew beer for sale who had not acquired a sufficient skill and knowledge in the "art and mystery of beer-brewing." He also extended the license system.

In the meantime numerous breweries had grown up in the environs of New Amsterdam. In 1655 we find one on the East River, in the neighborhood of the present Thirty-fifth street. The present Albany, then called Beaver-wyck, was founded in 1630, and but three years later a brewery was started there, which in the year 1649 produced 330 barrels of beer. The Albany beer became quite famous for its good quality. Aert Teunison estab-

lished the first brewery in Hoboken, which he conducted until 1648, when he was killed by the Indians. In Pavonia a brewery already existed in 1654.

The Dutch as well as the English settlers of that time, as can be seen, were not Prohibitionists. In New Amsterdam as well as in New England brewing grew with the growth of the colonies, and it would seem that the consumption per capita of the population was greater than today.

3. THE MIDDLE AND SOUTHERN COLONIES.

As has already been said, not only in antiquity, but also in our own times, the barbarous peoples of Asia and Africa have had intoxicating drinks, mostly produced by the malting of some kind of grain. The Nubians have from the earliest times used a beverage made from a certain kind of barley, which resembles the Berlin "Weissbier" and has a sourish taste. African explorers tell also of Negro tribes who use malted grain for brewing. Maize and other grains are still used by many uncivilized tribes for the preparation of beer. A common method of setting up fermentation is for the women to sit around a vat and chew the grain and then spit it back into the vat.

It is not unlikely that the first colonists in America, especially in the Southern colonies, learned the use of maize for beer-brewing from the Indians. In Roanoke Island, a part of the present North Carolina, for instance, where an unsuccessful effort was made from 1584 to 1586 to found an English colony, an attempt was made to prepare malt from maize.

Beer-brewing was introduced into Pennsylvania by William Penn himself, who preferred malt beverages to "fire water" and who erected a brewery near his residence in Pennsbury in 1683. It was he who made the "Quaker beer" famous. Before the end of that century the first

brewery was established in Philadelphia, the owner being one William Framton, whom William Penn describes as "a very able man who had erected a large brewhouse in order to provide good drink for the people up-river and down-river." Another brewery of the time in Philadelphia was the Morris brewery, which was erected in 1687. In 1682 the first Assembly of Pennsylvania fixed the price of malt beer at twopence a quart and that of molasses beer at one penny a quart.

In the neighboring colony of West New Jersey beer-brewing flourished at this period. A malthouse was set up in Perth Amboy in 1683, but they lacked an experienced brewer and wrote to England to get one.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the production of beer in Pennsylvania had reached such proportions that in 1704 the general government of the province took steps to encourage the cultivation of domestic hops. To this end a duty was imposed on imported hops. In 1718 a price regulation was introduced. The judges of the province were ordered to fix the price of beer four times a year, and to cause the officer of the court to go into the streets and cry out the price which they had decided upon and also to see that it was placarded on the courthouse door. Violations of the price regulations were severely punished. For the first offense a fine of twenty shillings was imposed, but for further violations the fine was five pounds (\$25), which was not a small sum in those days. At the same time the seller forfeited the right to sell alcoholic drinks for the space of three years.

Beer commanded much attention in the legislation of Pennsylvania at this time. In 1721, in order to promote the production and use of beer, the Assembly forbade the sale of any other alcoholic drinks, a measure which contributed not a little to the growth of the brewing industry in Philadelphia.

Delaware and West New Jersey were first colonized by the Swedes; they brought the art of brewing from their mother country, and their women brewed beer for household use. Other beverages were also used, especially cider, rum, and home-made brandy. In the year 1654 it is reported that the Swedish colonists prepared "a strong and remarkably clear beer out of maize," which was a favorite drink not only among the whites, but also among the Indians, although the latter on the whole preferred "fire water." As early as 1660 there were independent brewers in Delaware, and in Burlington, N. J., there was already in 1698 a brewery which prepared beer for sale.

An historical writer of that time gives a list of the beverages which were then drunk in America. Among others he mentions "manatham," which was made from small beer, rum, and sugar; "tiff" or "flip," prepared in the same manner, with the addition of a piece of toast and butter; "hotch-pot," a beverage made of warmed beer with the addition of rum; and "sillibub," which was a mixture of warm milk and beer.

Then there was small beer, which was made from syrup by heating some water and adding a quantity of molasses and a little malt. The brew was then thoroughly shaken and afterwards a small quantity of hops and yeast was added and the whole was put in a barrel and allowed to ferment. The following day the beverage was cleared and was ready for use.

In the Southern provinces the climate was unfavorable to beer-brewing. Barley did not grow well, or became too hard for malting on account of the heat. Most of the early attempts at beer production failed, partly for lack of good material and partly for lack of good brewers. The cheapness of various kinds of distilled liquors also hindered the development of brewing. In Virginia as early as 1652 a certain George Fletcher obtained the exclusive right to

prepare a certain kind of beer, which was not very popular. But before this, in the forties, a number of government breweries had been established, though with little success. Later beer was imported, but it did not keep well, on account of the climate. Cider, which was imported from New Jersey, took the place of beer in Virginia; but much rum and wine was also consumed, as well as fruit brandy, which was prepared at home. Beer-brewing in Virginia never developed beyond the stage of household brewing, and even that took place only in the houses of the rich.

General Oglethorpe tried to establish a brewery in Georgia in 1740 in order to provide beer for his soldiers; to promote this enterprise he forbade the sale of rum and other spirituous liquors. His brewery was located in Jekyl and his beer is said to have been fairly good. In the end, however, the undertaking failed, on account of the obstacles presented by the climate and by the cheapness of rum.

It is related that when Oglethorpe made an expedition with his soldiers down the river he used a peculiar method to keep his men together. The soldiers were embarked in a number of small boats, and on one of these the General placed the entire supply of beer. The men in the other boats had to row pretty vigorously in order to keep near the one carrying the beer. If they did not reach it in time they had to quench their thirst with river water.

In the first blossoming of the brewing industry in America, which we observe during the first century of the settlements in New England, New Amsterdam, Philadelphia, etc., the South had no part. In Baltimore the first brewery was established in 1744 and the second did not follow until 1761; these also had no particular success.

4. THE DECLINE OF BEER-BREWING IN THE COLONIES.

We have seen that in the first century of the history of the American colonies beer-brewing had flourished in certain parts. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the development of the industry met with a check, and beer-brewing rapidly declined until finally it lost all significance.

In Pennsylvania beer-brewing held its importance longer than in the other colonies, on account of the numerous German population and the good quality of the product. New York and Massachusetts also still exported beer, especially to the West Indies, as late as 1730; but after that the export declined rapidly.

In Philadelphia brewing continued a little longer because the product manufactured there, especially the ale and porter (the latter was manufactured for the first time in 1774), had gained a remarkable reputation. But even there this industry could not escape the general decline. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War the exportation of beer from Philadelphia did not exceed a thousand barrels a year.

The cause of this sudden decline of such a flourishing industry must be sought in economic changes and was connected with the increase of negro slavery in the Southern part of America and especially in the West Indies.

There were, however, additional causes for the decline, especially the increase in the cost of beer by reason of taxes and licenses, which were intended to fill the colonial treasuries. In order to avoid increasing the selling price, under these exactions, the brewers turned out an inferior product. In the year 1736 complaints came from Boston that "There is no good beer to be had here." Other beverages took the place of beer in daily use. As early as 1700 it is reported from New England that cider was being

manufactured in great quantities and that it was gradually displacing beer. About 1730 cider was the common drink of the people in New England, and it could be obtained almost everywhere at a price of three shillings a barrel. In addition to this, about 1745, tea became a household beverage in America.

But all this was only of minor significance in connection with the downfall of the brewing industry. The main cause, which led to the entire extinction of the beer industry in America, was the driving out of beer by a stronger drink—West India rum, which was produced from sugar-cane raised by the labor of negro slaves.

The New England shipowners and merchants discovered about this time that the negro slavery of the South might also become a beneficial institution for them. They found that the juice of the West Indian sugar-cane could be transformed into rum much easier in the cool climate of New England than in the tropical heat of the West Indies. Consequently they sent their ships to the islands and had them laden with molasses and brought back to the home port. Here the molasses was turned into rum, and rum became cheap. Pious and God-fearing men though they were, they took care that this cheap rum should come into general use and crowd out the drinks formerly in vogue. But rum served especially a higher—let us say a Christian purpose. For the cultivation of sugar-cane in the tropics negro slaves were employed, for whom the plantation owners paid good prices; they were imported from the West Coast of Africa, and the chief means of payment was Christian rum, for which the savage chiefs of tribes traded their black living chattels. This brought about the following favorable situation for the shipowners and merchants of New England: They got molasses from the West Indies and took it home. Here it was made into rum of a better or worse quality—

principally worse. Ships were then loaded with this product and sent to the African Coast, where the cargo of rum was exchanged for a cargo of negro slaves; occasionally these Christian New Englanders did not hesitate to seize negroes by force or to tempt them to drink and carry them away to the ships while they were under the influence of rum. With this shipload of living freight they again went to the West Indian islands, and here the planters again exchanged their slaves' product, molasses, for more slaves. Laden with the juice of the sugar-cane, the ship then returned to New England, and then the same round began again—new rum was made, new human flesh was bought with it, which again was exchanged for molasses, naturally at a great profit. And this trade laid the foundation of the capital of many honored families in the New England seaport towns.

Massachusetts and Connecticut took a large part in this trade, but both were surpassed by Rhode Island, which was most heavily interested in this traffic. The wealth of Newport grew rapidly in consequence of this rum and slave trade. Rum became so cheap for home consumption that beer practically vanished before it. For the lumbermen in the forests of New England and for the fishermen who had to remain for weeks at sea, and whose fare consisted of indigestible salt pork and maize, the warming rum was anyhow a better drink than the thin beer of that time. In the hard-working strata of the population, rum drove out beer entirely. Distilleries appeared everywhere, and not only the juice of the sugar-cane, but also other materials, especially the sugar-maple and maize, were used for the production of spirituous drinks. In 1738, according to a report of that time from Boston, the quantity of rum produced there was surprisingly large, and the price remarkably low. For less than two shillings one could buy a gallon of rum. In all

the rural districts of New England there were distilleries, whose products flooded the land. Occasionally the fact was realized that the intellect of the people was being clouded by the excessive use of alcohol. In 1727 distilling was prohibited in Connecticut, because "it made molasses dear and spirituous drinks are usually unwholesome." But this did not last long. Six months later the measure was repealed because "it drove business to the other colonies."

The flood of cheap spirits which spread over America at this time was not confined to New England. New York and other colonies did not let this good business escape them, and house distilling developed tremendously. Beer and the breweries could not stand against this flood, and even the production of wine, which had just begun to develop in some places, was sacrificed to it.

The decline of brewing continued up to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. So little remained of this industry that its flourishing condition in the preceding century was hardly remembered. The quantity of fermented drinks was negligible in comparison with the measureless amount of spirits which was being drunk by all classes of the population.

In the laws of the colonies various attempts were made to check the decline of brewing and to revive the industry. Taxes were removed from beer, for they had made easy the triumphal march of rum. Premiums were offered to promote the domestic cultivation of hops, and attempts were made through appropriate measures to promote the production of malt and to stimulate beer-brewing. But the cheapness of rum and the advantages its manufacture brought to the possessing class counted for more than all the legislative regulations. Finally brewing in America again became a house industry, for domestic consumption. Only a few independent breweries survived this period of decline.

CHAPTER III.

The Modern Beer-Brewing Industry.

1. THE BEGINNINGS.

THE American Revolution had put an end to commercial intercourse between England and her former colonies. The sea traffic with other countries was also interrupted by the English war ships, and the importation of goods from overseas was very small.

The very small quantity of beer which had heretofore been imported from England by the colonies was also cut off, and consequently the beer-breweries in this country began to revive somewhat, especially in Pennsylvania and in the state of New York a few small breweries started up again.

However, there was still but little demand for brewed beverages. Spirits was still the common drink, and the consumption of rum and similar liquors was still great in 1809, when it amounted annually to 18.08 quarts per capita of the population. Of fermented drinks—beer, ale and porter—there was consumed at that time 4.98 quarts per capita.

The enormous consumption of spirits aroused opposition among the people, and in the legislatures numerous propositions began to be advanced to stem the evil. More considerately than our present temperance advocates, they did not demand the complete prohibition of all alcoholic drinks, but sought to combat the harmful excessive consumption of spirits by promoting the production and use of beer.

This movement started in Philadelphia, and it was here that beer-brewing first began to revive, so that the breweries soon increased in number and the quantity of

beer produced in Philadelphia surpassed that of all other ports in the United States. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson were decidedly in favor of the promotion of beer-brewing in order to diminish the consumption of spirits. In each session of Congress in the two decades after the adoption of the Constitution, measures were considered and adopted which were intended to promote beer-brewing and restrict the consumption of spirits. The legislatures of the various states also took this matter into consideration. In 1789 Massachusetts passed a law "for the promotion of the manufacture of beer," according to which breweries which produced yearly more than 100 barrels of beer or ale for a period of five years were freed of all taxes. One of the reasons given for this law was that beer-brewing not only promoted agriculture, but that beer was the most suitable means for combating the injurious effects of spirituous liquors.

In New Hampshire also a similar law was enacted in 1792, which freed breweries from all taxes for ten years. In the preamble of this law it was expressly stated that the purpose was to discourage the use of distilled liquors in order to elevate the morals and health of the people through the consumption of beer.

Hand in hand with the enactment of laws intended to promote beer-brewing came others which made more difficult the distilling of spirituous drinks. This was especially effected through heavy taxation of distilleries. Distilling, however, was still conducted with great profit and was so wide-spread that in certain parts of Pennsylvania each farmer was at the same time a distiller. The laws which were directed against distilling caused bitter opposition and their enactment resulted in open resistance in Western Pennsylvania, which is well known as the "Whiskey Rebellion." Any farmer who expressed himself as willing to pay the whiskey tax was terrorized.

The movement against the payment of the tax in some parts assumed the character of an open insurrection against the government. The tax collectors were prevented from performing their duty by threats and violence. The tarring and feathering of such officials became a daily occurrence. Acts of violence were committed in which lives were lost and property ruined on a large scale. The movement took on such proportions that the government sent troops which were directed by George Washington himself. The leaders of the insurrection had gathered seven thousand armed men, but they all dispersed when the troops prepared for an onslaught.

The tax law which provoked the Whiskey Rebellion remained in force for several years, and it accomplished its purpose, for while it existed the number of whiskey distilleries was greatly decreased. When the law was repealed the distilleries again revived, and in the first decade of the nineteenth century the farmers in all the grain-raising states again took up distilling.

Nevertheless, the legislative measures had encouraged the revival of beer-brewing. In 1774 an ale-brewery was founded by Joseph Potts in Philadelphia, which developed vigorously during the Revolutionary War. In 1787 the breweries of Philadelphia consumed yearly 40,000 bushels of malt, and as a result of the general revival of business in the following year Philadelphia doubled its production of beer and porter. The price of Philadelphia beer at that time was thirty shillings per barrel. The porter of Philadelphia, especially, stood in very good repute. It was considered better than the famous London porter and was exported to China and the East Indies. A sample of Philadelphia beer was shipped to China and returned to Philadelphia, and it was found that it had not been affected in the slightest degree by the voyage.

Outside of Philadelphia also beer-brewing developed

during the last decade of the eighteenth century, especially among the German population. Lancaster had a brewery as early as 1786. In Reading a brewery was erected by Joseph Hoch, in 1798. And even in the then distant Pittsburg we find traces of the manufacture of beer in 1795.

In the state of New York, also, there developed about this time the beginnings of beer-brewing, especially at Hudson, while the city of New York made little or no progress. In Hudson the first brewery of New York was re-established in 1786. Its owner was Benjamin Faulkins. In New York City Coulter's brewery, also called the Old Brewery, was erected in 1792, at the place later called Five Points. In Troy brewing began in 1793. In Albany, which in former times had a very good reputation for its beer, the first brewery of modern times was established in 1796 by James Boyd. This first brewery in Albany was able to turn out 4,000 barrels a year. In Poughkeepsie, also, a brewery was started about this time. James Vassar, who had learned the art of brewing in England, came to Poughkeepsie in 1793 and began his brewing activities in 1797. At first the quantities produced were not large. He brewed about fifteen gallons a day, which was sold on the streets to neighbors and farmers. This was the beginning of a brewery which in 1848 produced on the average 20,000 barrels of ale, beer, and porter yearly.

The first brewery in New Jersey was established at Newark in 1805. The founder was John N. Cunning. This is the establishment which later passed into the hands of the Ballantine family.

The progress of the industry was slow, but nevertheless there was progress. In 1810, we find in the United States one hundred and twenty-nine breweries, distributed through ten states. The farthest west of these states was Ohio. The total product of these breweries in beer,

ale, and porter amounted to 182,690 barrels, representing a money value of \$955,761. Pennsylvania stood at the head, with forty-eight breweries, with a production of 71,263 barrels. Then followed New York, with forty-two breweries, producing 66,896 barrels. Massachusetts also deserves mention, producing 22,400 barrels. All the other states produced less than 10,000 barrels a year. New Jersey had at that time six breweries, Ohio thirteen, Maryland and Virginia each seven, Delaware two, Georgia one, and the District of Columbia three.*

After the first decade of the nineteenth century the brewing industry began to develop more rapidly, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, where the immigration of beer-drinking people increased the beer consumption. In 1823 there were fourteen breweries in Philadelphia. In 1814 a German named Georg Michel Brobst erected a brewery in Reading, Pa. In Pittsburg, Joseph Wainwright started brewing on a larger scale in 1818. In 1831 another brewery was established in the same place by John N. Straub, who delivered beer to his customers with a pushcart. In the state of New York the brewing industry revived, especially in Albany. In 1820 there existed there already four breweries, among which was the one established by Fiddler & Taylor in 1822, which was the largest in the United States at that time. The capacity of this brewery was 250 barrels a day. Another of the Albany breweries was the one erected by Uri Burt in 1819. In 1851 the Burt brewery produced 50,000 barrels a year. In Oneida County, N. Y., we also find a brewery in operation as early as 1810.

In the city of New York the progress of brewing was slower than in other parts of the state. Here we do not find a new brewery until 1823, when the Croton brewery

* G. Ehret, "Twenty-five Years of Brewing;" p. 35.

was established, owned by Miles & Bacon. In 1825 Abraham Nash established a small brewery in Troy, out of which later developed, in 1845, the brewery of Nash, Beadleston & Co., of New York City.

In Buffalo the first brewery was started in 1830, the owner of which was Jacob Roos. This was the beginning of the present Iroquois Brewing Company. In Utica, N. Y., also a brewery was established at about this time, which later became the Oneida Brewing Company. That was in 1832. Somewhat later another brewery was set up in the same place by Michael McQuade.

In the New England states the development of the brewing industry was slower than in Pennsylvania and Western New York, probably because of the fact that the immigration of beer-drinking peoples, especially Germans, was at that time not directed toward New England. Nevertheless, we find breweries in Massachusetts in the twenties of the nineteenth century. In Charlestown in the year 1821 the first brewery was established by John Cooper and Thomas Gould. This later developed into the Bunker Hill brewery. In South Boston the Boston Beer Company was founded in 1828. The first brewery in Providence, R. I., was erected by Otis Holmes in 1835.

In the meantime the white population pressed westward, and fertile farms and small villages blossomed in places heretofore trodden only by the red man. The political movements of the thirties drove a mass of people across the sea, especially of South Germans, and these helped to settle the northwestern part of the United States. This element remained true to its old habits of life, and as a result of this immigration, which in 1848 became a veritable stream, we find breweries started up all over the West. The farther west the German immigration went the farther west extended the beer-brewing industry, which was a regular accompaniment of this immigration.

The names of the first breweries in the West show that foundations of this industry in that region were laid by Germans.

In Ohio German settlers had begun beer-brewing in 1817. These were religious communists, who had founded the colony of Zoar. This colony had a brewery in its settlement. It is said that in Cincinnati small breweries existed in 1809 and 1811, but historically this fact cannot be verified. In 1828 another brewery is said to have been established in this city, which later developed into the Walker Brewing Company. In 1836 the City Brewery was established there, which was owned by G. M. Herancourt. This brewery in its first year had a capacity of fourteen barrels a day, which was increased in the second year to forty-five barrels. A few years earlier, in 1832, two breweries had been established in Cincinnati, the Jackson Brewing Company and the brewery of Peter Jonte. With the arrival of German immigrants in Cincinnati the consumption of beer and the beer-brewing industry rose. In 1840 more than a quarter of the population consisted of Germans, and the number of breweries therefore was increased in that year to eight.

In the other parts of Ohio brewing was developed early. In 1830 we find a brewery in Canton which was owned by T. C. Nighman. In the middle of the thirties L. Hoster and I. Silbernagel had already established breweries in Columbus. In 1837 Kroener & Rice established a brewery in Evansville. In 1838 John Vogelsang started a brewery in Toledo and in 1844 the first brewery was established in Baltimore, by Jacob Medtart.

In Indiana Jacob Salmon founded the first brewery in Madison in 1823. In 1841 this met with competition from the Scheik brewery. In Terre Haute the first brewery was founded in 1835 by George Hager. In Erie, Pa., the Diez brewery in 1830 was the first. It is said

that in West Virginia there was a brewery in Wheeling as early as 1822, but it is certain that in 1845 George W. Smith erected a brewery in that city.

In the city of New York the year 1840 was of importance for the brewing industry, because it was then that the water of the Croton River was brought into the city, and with this one of the principal obstacles of the development of brewing was removed. In this year the brewery of George Gillig, a Bavarian, was started, at Fifth avenue and Fifty-third street. In 1842 two brothers started the Schaefer Brewery. In the same year the Johnson Brewery was started in Brooklyn. In 1846 Joseph Doelger erected his brewery in New York, and in 1848 another one was built by John Noller.

In the state of New York also, especially in the northern part, brewing began to develop about this time. In Rochester the first brewery was built in 1845 by Hathaway & Gordon. In Buffalo the second brewery was established in 1840 by J. F. Schanzlin & Hoffmann. Soon after this, in the same city, the breweries of J. Friedman and Gerhard Lang were started. On the whole, brewing developed in the state of New York to such a degree that in 1845 there existed 102 breweries.

Further west we find in the forties the foundation for the great brewing establishments which existed there later. In Chicago there was a small brewery in 1833, which was owned by William Lill, and in 1840 another brewery was established. But it was not until the middle of the forties that the Chicago breweries got a good start. In 1847 the brewery of A. Huck & John Schneider was started, which developed into a great enterprise. In Northern Illinois, in Galena, there existed two breweries in 1843. In Quincy, in the same state, Anton Delabar founded a brewery in 1840. In 1842 Alton already had a brewery which had been built by George Yackel.

The brewing industry of Milwaukee started in 1840, when Hermann Reidelshofer erected the first brewery. This later passed into the hands of Philip Best & Co. In the same year R. G. Owens started a second brewery, and a third was established in 1842 by Conrad Muntzenberger. In 1844 Jacob Best founded a small brewery, which later developed into the large Pabst establishment.

At the same time the foundations of the beer-brewing industry were laid in St. Louis. Distilling had been carried on in that city since 1811, and to such a degree that no less than 18,000 barrels of whiskey were produced in 1840. Up to this time beer-brewing was not practiced very much, but in 1840 there existed a brewery which belonged to one McHose. At the beginning of the forties Stiefel & Winkelmeyer founded the Union Brewery. Somewhat later the Washington Brewery was founded, and in 1845 there were already six breweries in St. Louis, of which the largest had a capacity of twenty-five barrels a day.

In Iowa beer-brewing was started in 1845, in which year Tschirgi put up the first brewing kettle in Dubuque. In St. Paul, Minn., the erection of the A. Yoerz's establishment started the brewing industry in 1848, and two years later, in 1850, the first brewery was built in St. Paul's sister city, Minneapolis, by John Orth.

In the four decades, from 1810 to 1850, the number of breweries in the United States had increased from 129 to 431, and the product from 5,754,737 gallons to 23,267,730 gallons. Still, the brewing industry, in the main, was concentrated in two states, Pennsylvania and New York. The breweries of these two states in the year 1850 produced 18,825,096 gallons; the breweries of all the other states, 4,442,634 gallons. Up to that time brewing *as an industry* had developed only in these two states.

2. LAGER BEER.

Until the early forties of the nineteenth century, all the beer brewed in America aside from the different kinds of small beer, was the sort known today as ale and porter. Lager beer, which had been brewed in Germany since the thirteenth century, was not known in America.

Lager beer requires slower fermentation, because it has to be brewed stronger in order to keep better. It also requires a lower temperature for its production than porter and ale. At a time, therefore, when artificial ice and cooling machines were not known and cooling places had to be provided by making cellars in the rock, the preparation of lager beer was more expensive than the other kind. In addition to this, yeast, which is necessary for the fermentation of lager beer, was not known in America; and as ships took such a long time in crossing the ocean, it was not practicable to import yeast, as it was thought that it would not keep so long. These are probably the reasons why lager beer was not introduced into America at an earlier date, although even at that time there were large numbers of German immigrants who had made their homes in America and who were acquainted with lager beer and would surely have preferred it to that brewed according to the English method.

The exact time when lager beer, brewed according to the German method, was introduced into America is not known, nor is it certain who was the first person to brew lager beer in this country.

In Reading, Pa., there existed since 1826, a small brewery owned by a certain George Lauer, a Rhenish Bavarian, from whom it passed to his son Friedrich in 1835. This Friedrich Lauer began in 1844 or 1845 the brewing of lager beer; he explained, however, that he was not the first who introduced lager beer into America. He asserted that a certain Wagner, who had come to

America in 1842, had shortly after his arrival started the brewing of lager beer in a small brewery in a suburb of Philadelphia. In the main this is substantiated by a member of the brewing firm of Engel & Wolf in Philadelphia. This gentleman says that in 1840 John Wagner brewed the first lager beer in America. This Wagner had a small brewery in John street, near Poplar, in Philadelphia. It was a very primitive establishment in which the first lager beer of America is said to have been produced. The brewing kettle was suspended from a beam over an open fire, and this kettle contained barely eight barrels. The yeast which it is said Wagner used for this lager beer, he had sent from a brewery in Bavaria where he had formerly been brewmaster.

The great value which was placed on this lager-beer yeast can be judged from the fact that a brother-in-law of Wagner's is said to have stolen a pint of it. He was prosecuted for it and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

At any rate, the brewing of lager beer was developed in Philadelphia, which had in some way come into the possession of lager-beer yeast. Among the breweries which took this up was that of Engel & Wolf, in Dillwin street, Philadelphia, which had for many years been a favorite resort of the Germans of that city who wanted to enjoy a cool drink. "More than once," it is recorded, "they drank the brewery dry," and a placard had to be put up announcing the next date when lager beer could be had.*

The brewing of lager beer now progressed rapidly, although in the first decade it had attained but little importance. In St. Louis a small lager-beer brewery was started as early as 1842 by Tobias Spenglar. In the city

* One Hundred Years of Brewing: A Supplement to the Western Brewer. H. S. Rich & Co., Chicago and New York, 1903; page 207.

of New York the first lager beer was brewed in 1844 by George Gillig.*

George Frey, who brewed the first lager beer in Erie, Pa., in 1847, had helped in the first brewing of "lager" in Buffalo in 1843. In 1848 a brewer in Pittsburg, John N. Straub, heard that lager beer was being brewed in Philadelphia. With great difficulty he got a quantity of lager-beer yeast from Philadelphia, which had to be brought by canal to Pittsburg, and which was used for the brewing of the first lager beer in Pittsburg.

In 1847 John A. Huck and John Schneider started the brewing of lager beer in Chicago. In 1849 the German beverage was first produced in Cincinnati, and in 1846 in Boston, by John Roessle, of Roxbury.

In Milwaukee the first lager beer was brewed in 1851 in the brewery of Jacob Best, out of which the Pabst establishment was later developed. Another Milwaukee brewer, a certain Wagner, it is said, had some yeast sent by his brother from Bavaria. He did not have much confidence, however, and was afraid the yeast might not be good any more. He therefore went to Best and offered him the yeast for what the transportation had cost him. Best accepted the offer. The yeast proved good, and so it came about that Jacob Best had the honor of brewing the first lager beer in Milwaukee. It is not unlikely that there is some connection between the Wagner of this story and the one who is reported to have started lager-beer brewing in Philadelphia.

In the first decade after its introduction the brewing of lager beer made but slow progress in America. After this, however, with the general development of the industry,

* A German tavern-keeper by the name of Schwalbe, who kept a tavern in Chatham street, is said to have been the first to sell lager beer in New York. He had it sent from Philadelphia, and sold it at four cents a glass.

the production and consumption of the new beverage grew, and it began to replace the heavy English beers. There were economic reasons for the slowness of its development at first. Heretofore, surface-fermented beers had been used, which could be kept on tap for weeks without getting stale and unusable. Such beers were more suited for the thinly settled regions, where beer was not consumed in large quantities, but sold in glasses here and there. With lager beer the situation was different, especially at a time when modern beer-drawing apparatus were not to be had, such as will prevent the entrance of air to the contents of the tapped barrel and thus partly prevent the carbonic acid of the beer from escaping. Lager beer is good only when freshly tapped. If it is open long it becomes stale and unusable, and therefore requires rapid consumption. A rapid consumption of the beverage, however, can take place only where many people congregate. This was not generally the case in the first decades of lager-beer brewing in America. Only on Sundays and holidays, when Germans got together to spend their free hours, was this the case. But later, with the industrial development, larger cities grew up, which attracted great masses of people and made a rapid consumption of lager beer possible; and even in smaller places the factories brought together large numbers of workingmen, where before there had been only small shops, and thus even in small places the use of lager beer became practicable. In short, the economic development prepared the ground for the increase of the lager-beer industry. In the second decade after its appearance, the growth of the lager-beer industry began which has lasted to our own time.

As early as 1860 far more than a quarter of the entire quantity of beer brewed in the United States was lager beer. That is, out of 3,235,545 barrels of beer, 855,803,

which is far more than a quarter, were lager beer. The general economic development increased the demand for lager beer, and this increased demand naturally had an effect upon the growth and multiplication of lager-beer breweries. But the production of lager beer was limited to the winter season, because a particular temperature was necessary for manufacturing and storing it, and it was difficult to obtain this temperature without artificial means. Artificial ice and artificial or mechanical cooling apparatus did not exist. But now, as always happens when a certain need calls for a new invention, the increased demand for lager beer led to the invention of all kinds of cooling machines. The production of artificial ice, and in connection with it the building of complicated machines for manufacturing ice and producing a low temperature was greatly stimulated by the demand for lager beer. The ice industry really owes its existence to the lager-beer breweries. But the invention of cooling machines and the manufacture of artificial ice again had their effect upon the spread of the lager-beer breweries. The brewer who, up to that time, could manufacture his product only during certain times of the year, overcame this limitation through the use of artificial means. The natural ice, which had formerly been taken from lakes and ponds and stored in cellars, did not have to be stored underground any more, but could be kept on the ground floor or even higher, so that it had its effect from above instead of below. Natural ice was even at the beginning of the nineteenth century an article of trade between New England and New York. The natural product was shipped in great quantities from Boston to New York, where it was used for brewing purposes. The building of ice-houses began in the sixties. Improved ice-houses, where, through the addition of various salts the effect of the ice was increased, began to be built

in 1880, the first one in Detroit. At the same time artificial ice began to come into general use. The first ice machine in a brewery was placed in the establishment of Glasgow & Thunder, in Bendigo, Victoria, Australia, in 1860. The first cooling machine which was used in America was introduced by the brewer, Georg Merz, in New Orleans, in 1869. He had imported it from France. In the spring of 1870, the S. Liebmann's Sons' Brewing Company in Brooklyn introduced the first cooling machine in New York or the vicinity, which was of an improved kind, but still did not meet all the requirements. The demand, however, stimulated the technicians to overcome all difficulties and to produce the perfect refrigeration machine with which today all the large breweries are equipped.

Only the development of the ice and cooling-machine industry enabled the lager-beer brewer to do away with the limits which nature had until now drawn. He did not have to brew his lager beer only at certain times of the year, but at any time when it suited him best. Human knowledge and technique had won a victory over nature.

3. FROM SMALL PRODUCTION TO GREAT INDUSTRY.

In the decade before the outbreak of the Civil War, the beer-brewing industry began to develop from the stage of small production to that of great industry, especially in the Eastern states, where alone anything of the nature of great industry could be said to exist. With the great increase of German population between 1850 to 1860 beer-brewing grew rapidly. While the population of the United States in this decade increased only from 23,000,000 to 31,000,000, the number of breweries grew from 431 to 1,269. While the manufactured product of

the breweries in the year 1850 had a value of \$5,728,568, it rose in 1860 to \$21,310,933.

However, the main seats of the brewing industry still continued to be confined to two states, New York and Pennsylvania. Almost half of all the beer brewed in the Union in 1860 was produced in these two states. Of the total 1,269 breweries, 347 were in Pennsylvania and New York, and in capacity these were far ahead of the breweries in the other states. Of the 175 breweries in the state of New York, 46 were in New York City. And of the 172 breweries in Pennsylvania, 68 were in Philadelphia. In Baltimore there were then 12 breweries, and in Boston 6.

The value of the product of the New York breweries in 1860 was \$6,320,724; that of the breweries in Pennsylvania, \$3,151,069. According to this, out of the total value of the product manufactured in 1860, \$21,310,933, these two states had \$9,471,793. Of the other states, only Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Missouri, and California had a beer production exceeding in value \$1,000,000 a year. In the same decade the settlement of the Western states brought the beer industry into that part of the country. About 1850, Mathias Frehm set up the first brewery in Davenport, Iowa. In 1849, the gold fever and the number of people drawn to California by it called forth the first brewery there, which was erected in San Francisco by a German, A. Schuppert. This was followed in 1852 by another, erected by the firm, Gundlach & Frauenholz. In the preceding year John Joseph Hartmann had established a "steam-beer" brewery in San Jose. In 1860 California already had 83 breweries.

The other Pacific states soon followed. In Walla Walla, in the later state of Washington, we find a brewery in 1855. In 1860 Oregon had eight breweries. In 1859 Fred Krug erected the first brewery in Omaha, Neb., which

had a capacity of one and a half barrels a day. In 1860 beer-brewing had become firmly established in Kansas. In Colorado the first brewery was erected in 1859, in Denver, and the first brewer of that city was Ph. Zang.

In the South, also, about this time, the brewing industry had got a firm foothold. In Texas, in the city of San Antonio, the first brewery was established in 1855 by Wilhelm Menger. Five years later we find thirteen breweries in this state. In Georgia a brewery existed in 1860, while Kentucky then already had twenty-five. In Louisiana, to which state a number of Germans had come in 1848, there were five breweries, in Maryland twenty-two, in Tennessee two, and in Virginia six. During the Civil War many soldiers of German descent were stationed for years in the Southern states, and so breweries sprung up there which sold their product to the army.

Naturally by this time the real hand work had almost completely disappeared. The beer-brewing industry was among the first in America in which steam played an important part. As early as 1817 steam was used as a motive-power in most of the breweries of New England, and New York and Pennsylvania soon followed the example. In 1819 a stationary steam engine was set up in a brewery owned by Francis Perot, in Vine street, Philadelphia, which had been built by a certain Thomas Holloway, and which continued in use down to 1872. This engine was described as the first one in America; but this is an error, for, as said before, steam engines were generally introduced into the breweries in New England in 1817.

The concentration of the industry also progressed. The average capacity of the breweries of the United States from 1850 to 1860 increased only from \$13,291 to \$16,792; but this small average increase was due to the fact that in that decade the industry had only begun to develop in

the West and in the South, and naturally the many new breweries which sprang up there had only small capacities. But in the older brewing centers, New York, Pennsylvania, and the neighboring states, a certain concentration of the industry was noticeable. In New York in 1860 the average product per brewery was \$36,000.

The system of great industry now began to conquer the brewing industry.

CHAPTER IV.

Brewing as a Great Industry.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

DURING the first half of the sixties, at the time of the Civil War between North and South, the foundations of American capitalism were laid. The government had to raise millions upon millions to maintain the army and navy. This treasure flowed in the main into the pockets of contractors who furnished supplies to the soldiers in the field. Under the fructifying influence of the millions which the nation had to pay for its army and navy contracts, industry developed and concentrated astonishingly. The workshops were not able to meet the enormous demand for goods. Hand labor was not sufficient to produce all the wares needed. Everywhere machinery began to be used in manufacture, and the workshop developed into the factory. The production of commodities on a large scale took the place of small trade; where heretofore five or ten men had worked together, now hundreds were employed in large production. Out of the small employer developed the great industrial capitalist; where previously the small business man had a few men working for him, now hundreds or thousands of workingmen were employed by one capitalist, and from the labor of all these workingmen a stream of surplus-value flowed into the pockets of the capitalists. There followed such an accumulation of wealth in individual hands as had never before been known. The "honest" exploitation of labor was accompanied by fraudulent methods which largely promoted the concentration of wealth. Army contractors cheated the nation in supplying goods. The soldiers were clad in shoddy suits and wore shoes with paper soles, while mil-

lions were being piled up in the hands of the contractors. Legislation at that time when the country was in danger was placed in the hands of the capitalists and legislative measures of all sorts were introduced calculated still further to increase the stream of wealth which flowed into the coffers of the possessing class. The wealth so acquired was used for the acquisition of yet more wealth. At that time the foundation was laid for the enormous possessions of the railroad companies. How the wealth of the country increased and its ownership was concentrated can be seen from the fact that in spite of the enormous destruction of values in the South in consequence of the war the national wealth of the United States grew from \$514 per capita in 1850 to \$780 per capita in 1870. The South did not take part in this increase. In the main, wealth was concentrated in New York, New England, and the neighboring states of the Northeast, where the concentration of industry had already begun. In the North Atlantic part of the country the average wealth in 1860—that is, just before the war—was \$528 per capita, only \$14 above the average for the whole country. In 1870—after the war—in the same district, the per capita wealth of the population had increased to \$1,243, or \$463 above the average for the whole country.

The national wealth, however, as is well known, is not the wealth of the nation, but the wealth of the possessing class. The bulk of the population has no part in it. And therefore the above figures do not refer to the possessions of the mass of the population after the war, but to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few.

This concentration of wealth was a tremendous incentive to the development of all branches of industry. New enterprises sprang up everywhere, and small trades were transformed into great industries. The whole process of economic development which we always observe when

capitalism first begins to operate and which frequently requires many decades in order to transform the character of society in any given country from a small-bourgeois social order into a great-bourgeois or capitalistic order—this whole process unfolded in the Northeastern portion of the United States during the Civil War in a little less than five years. It was at this time that the foundations were laid for the reign of money in the United States.

2. CAPITALISM IN THE BEER-BREWING INDUSTRY.

The same development which we have observed as taking place in industry as a whole during the Civil War took place also in the beer-brewing industry. Various kinds of machinery were introduced into the breweries and improved scientific methods were brought into use for the production of beer. Technical improvements gradually lessened the importance of particular skilled brewing experts. The product of the breweries became more uniform and did not depend so much upon chance as in the former production by hand labor. The brewing establishments grew constantly larger and turned out ever greater quantities of the product. The capitalistic organization of industry gained the upper hand in the brewing business.

In the main, there are three processes in the production of beer—the malting of the barley and other grains; the mashing process; and the fermentation process. The first named, malting, tended to become separated from brewing proper. Malting became a distinct industry. Even in colonial times there seem to have been independent malting plants. In Oneida County, New York, we find a malting plant not connected with any brewery in the year 1810. In Albany, the first one was established in 1823. In the sixties there was everywhere noticeable, in addition

to the expansion of the brewing industry, a general separation of the malting from the brewing business. This was especially the case in New York City and in the northern part of the state, where numerous malting plants were established. In the Middle West, also, especially in Illinois and Missouri, we observe at this time the rise of independent malting places.

In the year 1905 we find 141 independent malteries in the United States, engaged in turning grain into malt for breweries and distilleries. But even now many large breweries have their own malthouses, in which they prepare the malt needed for their own use.

Coopering also was separated from the brewing industry, and became an independent business and a highly concentrated industry.

The mashing process, by which the wort is extracted from the malt and the starch contained in the grain is transformed into sugar and dextrine, as well as the process of fermentation, by which the sugar is turned into alcohol—these two processes, naturally, are inseparably bound to the breweries. But what a difference between the mash-vats and the brewing kettles of the first American breweries and the magnificent equipment of the breweries of the present day, with their huge kettles, their giant machines, and their system of steam and water pipes which wind for miles through the whole establishment.

In a few decades the industrial development turned the log-houses and the insignificant equipment in which American brewing at first had its home, into gigantic establishments with masses of buildings, factory works, stables, and warehouses constituting a veritable city within a city. The great stables, which often accommodate hundreds of horses, the enormous barns to shelter the wagons and automobiles, the railway tracks which frequently convey whole trains of cars into the brewery

establishment—all these things, replacing the pushcart with which the brewer at first delivered his product, give us a conception of the enormous quantities which the brewing plant sends out in every direction over land and sea. The small mash-vat of former times, in which the hand-working brewers prepared the mash, has given place to very large receptacles in which a whole machinery of levers and wheels has replaced the labor of human hands with a hundred-fold greater power. The small brewing kettle in which, at the beginning of the industry, one or a few barrels of beer could be brewed, has been transformed into a whole system of giant kettles in which every phase of the brewing process is continually under scientific observation. The fermentation and cooling rooms, with dozens of large receptacles full of foaming and steaming liquid; the cooling apparatus, the machinery of which occupies whole large rooms; the lager cellars in which are placed giant barrels and tanks holding, instead of the forty barrels of former times, six hundred, a thousand, or even more barrels of beer; the boiler rooms where thousands of tons of coal are consumed, heating whole rows of boilers in which water is turned into steam, whose heat and power is led into all the rooms of the establishment, making it possible for all the processes of the industry to be performed in the proper manner—all this admits of no comparison with the primitive establishments in which, half a century ago, American beer was frequently brewed.

And the store-rooms where bags of hops are piled up which contain the product of entire fields and represent the harvest of whole villages; the malthouses, with thousands and thousands of bushels of grain constituting a whole granary; the pumping stations which send a veritable sea of water into the establishment; the large rooms in which barrels are cleaned and where, by means of

machinery, the product when ready for shipment is filled into barrels and bottles; the cooper-shops and store-rooms containing many thousands of barrels—all this forms a picture which gives us an insight into a modern industry in which the hand-labor of man plays no important part in comparison with the powers of nature which man has taken into his service and which faithfully perform the work for which the strength of thousands of men would not be sufficient. The levers and wheels and iron fingers of the machine have replaced human hands and perform with equal or even greater skill the work which was formerly done by hand; and they have made it possible for a greater change to take place in our society within a century than that which took place in a thousand years in earlier historical periods.

Beer-brewing has, along with other industries, become a great industry, and the small brewery with its hand labor has gone forever. It has become a gigantic industry, one of the most important of the industries of America, as it supplies the demand of whole countries and is in a thousand ways connected with the agricultural population which produces the raw materials consumed in this gigantic production of beer.

The transformation and development of the industry has not remained without effect upon the persons who are connected with it. With the change in the character of the industry has come a change in the character of the people who control it.

With the rapid development of the brewing industry in the sixties, capital accumulated in the hands of the brewers to an unprecedented extent. Every increase of a thousand barrels in the amount of the product meant an increase in the stream of gold that was flowing into the pockets of the capitalists. In 1850, the value of the product in the United States amounted to \$5,700,000; ten

years later, in 1860, the value had risen to \$21,000,000; and in the following twenty years, up to 1880, it grew five-fold—the value of the beer produced had risen in that year to more than \$100,000,000. Since then the value has increased again three-fold. The products of the American breweries have now a yearly value of more than \$300,000,000, and in spite of all opposition and notwithstanding some temporary checks, it is still on the increase.

And with the increase in production, naturally the capital in the hands of the brewers increased correspondingly. The total capital employed in the brewing industry of America in 1850 amounted to something over \$4,000,000. It has increased in fifty years a hundred-fold. In 1900 the capital employed in the brewing industry of America amounted to \$413,000,000; and by 1905, only five years later, it had risen another hundred million dollars; in 1905 this capital amounted to no less than \$515,636,792.

The development of the brewing industry from a small trade to a great industry naturally also changed the owner of the brewery from a craftsman and small capitalist into a great capitalist. As a rule, these proprietors were South Germans, partly from the peasant class, who had started their career in the forties and fifties by setting up a brewing kettle and founding small brewing establishments. The rapid increase, especially in the lager-beer industry, which took place after the large German immigration which followed the revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849, and the enormous profits which in the beginning of the industry accrued to the brewers, soon changed these brewers from craftsmen who sometimes employed other workingmen, but who always did some of the work themselves, into capitalists who left all the work to paid "hands" and were content to gather in the profits derived from the labor of others.

The rapid accumulation of capital in the hands of the

lager-beer brewers brought with it a corresponding change in their social position. Possession gives influence and power, and as these brewers were in the main of German origin, and it was to their interest to remain in touch with the beer-drinking Germans, the brewing element soon played an important role in the German-American world, a role which increased in importance as the capital in the hands of the brewers grew by ministering to the thirst of the Germans.

The change of the brewer from a craftsman to a great capitalist brought with it a change in his private and social life. With the growth of the brewing establishments and the accumulation of wealth in proportion to its growth, luxury and pomp entered the houses of these brewers. In these dwellings everything seemed to "fit" with one exception—it very often happened that the master and mistress were the only ones who seemed out of place in this life. They both generally came from a class in society in which a somewhat coarse and "gemüthlich" tone was permissible. The brewing craftsmen had generally chosen their life-companions from their own class, and with the change in their possessions there had come to both of them a change in the point of view and behavior which distinguished the rich from the poor. The change in her was much greater than in him, because his business required that he remain among his associates the same jolly fellow who "lived and let live." But she entirely forgot her origin and declined to continue her associations with the grocer's wife and the tavern keeper's wife who had formerly been her friends, but who had not climbed the ladder of success so rapidly as she.

Delightful stories illustrating the change produced in these brewers by their accumulation of wealth are still told on the East Side of New York, where the remnants of the good old "spießbürgerliche Deutschthum" still exist. At

that time there existed there grocery stores and taverns where in the back room the servant girls got their glass of small beer for two cents and now and then also enjoyed a jolly dance. It is related that the hostess of an Avenue A tavern once took it into her head to visit her old friend "Lieschen," who as a maid had drank many a glass of small beer in her place and had often taken part in the dance. But "Lieschen" had become a brewer's wife and lived with her husband in a palatial residence on Fifth Avenue. When the old friend from the East Side came to her house, an impressive man-servant confronted her and demanded her card. This had never happened to our good hostess before. She insisted that the servant go to his mistress and tell "Lieschen" that a good friend of hers was there, whom she would know even without a card, that she had many times danced in her place and enjoyed her glass of small beer there. But "Lieschen" did not make her appearance. She had forgotten the small beer at two cents a glass and the jolly dance in the back room. Our good hostess, however, returned sadly to the East Side, and told her guests how inconstant is friendship, and had many a bitter word to say about people "who once had no more than I."

The sons of those Germans who had "risen in life" wanted to forget the origin of their fathers and did not even wish to be reminded of the fact that they were descendants of "Dutchmen." They soon got rid of their German language and German customs. This was not the case with the sons of the first German brewers. Their interest demanded that they remain in the closest touch with the new German immigrant elements who formed the chief customers for their lager beer, and in whose organizations lectures and discussions were frequently held in which the "culture value of German lager beer" as compared with that of other beverages, especially of the

English beers, was highly praised. Their interests naturally forced the German brewers and their descendants to play a part in these German societies. Their wealth placed them in the foreground. When it came to the point of doing something for the spread of "German art and German science," or what goes under that name, then the German brewers on account of their wealth and their interest in maintaining the German life and spirit, as it is from their ranks that they got their best customers, were always coming to the front. Whether this was always to the advantage of German art and science remains in doubt. However, it must be mentioned that in many cases brewery owners distinguished themselves by real bourgeois beneficence.

3. THE CONCENTRATION OF THE INDUSTRY.

One of the principal features of the capitalistic development of industry, aside from the displacement of hand labor by machinery, is the concentration of the several branches of industry. The small concerns are replaced by large ones, the product of the individual enterprise is increased. The greater these enterprises, the harder it becomes for a new concern to meet the competition of the large ones already in the field. Each particular branch of industry becomes more and more monopolized by a few families, who have the necessary large equipment.

This is clearly illustrated in the development of the brewing industry in the United States.

The time is long gone by when the brewer himself, in sparsely settled regions, could brew his one or two barrels a day, load them on a pushcart, and sell his product to neighbors and passers-by. In brewing circles of today, they look with scorn upon those times when, as at Albany in 1822, the largest brewery in the United States brewed at most only 250 barrels a day. The largest brewery of

today produces more than twenty times as much as that, more than 5,000 barrels a day.

The concentration of the brewing industry shows itself in the fact that the number of breweries in the United States has diminished in the last forty years, in spite of the fact that the population has more than doubled. In 1870 the number of breweries in our country was 1,972, which rose in 1880 to 2,272. From that time on, with the increased development of capitalism, the breweries began to diminish in number. The small ones were swallowed by the large ones. In 1890 the number of breweries was only 1,928; in 1900 it had fallen to 1,758, and in 1908 to 1,720.

The concentration of the brewing industry is even more noticeable when one compares the number of breweries with the population.

In 1870 in our country there was a brewery to every 20,000 inhabitants; in 1880, one to every 22,000. By 1890, the development had made great progress, and in that year there were 32,000 inhabitants to every brewery; and by 1900 there were 43,000 inhabitants, and in 1908 about 50,000 to every brewery.

The extent of the concentration of the brewing industry is best shown in the tremendously increased production, in spite of the fact that the number of breweries has diminished. The capital employed in the year 1850 in American breweries amounted, according to the reports of the Census Bureau, to \$4,072,380, while the product had a value of \$5,728,568. In 1900, the capital employed in breweries was \$415,284,468, and the value of the annual product was \$237,269,719. A comparison of these figures will also give an idea of the enormous profits which the brewers got out of their capital in the beginning of the industry.

In the year 1800, the whole brewing industry of the

Union produced 60,000 barrels. By 1863, the annual product had risen to 2,596,803 barrels. On account of the Civil War—war times are good times for brewers and distillers—the consumption of beer increased greatly. In 1870 the annual product already amounted to 6,081,517 barrels, which amount was doubled in the following decade on account of the rapid settling of the country, especially by beer-drinking Germans. In 1880, the annual product was 12,800,900 barrels. By 1890, this had again more than doubled. The beer production of our country in that year amounted to 26,820,953 barrels. And by 1900 it had risen to 39,471,593 barrels. In 1908 the production of the American breweries was 59,000,000 barrels. During a little over four decades, the production of beer has increased twenty-fold, while the population has not even increased three-fold.

As the number of breweries diminished in spite of the enormous increase in production, naturally a much larger part of the production falls to each individual brewery. A hundred years ago, in 1810, on the average, the product was 1,500 barrels for each brewery yearly. By 1870 this average increased to 3,084 barrels, by 1880 it had risen to 5,634 barrels, and by 1890 it had reached the height of 13,911 barrels. Ten years later, 1900, the average product per brewery was 22,458 barrels, and in 1908 it had grown to 34,300.

It is of interest to observe how the individual states took part in the development of the industry, especially with regard to the number of breweries. In 1870, the state of New York had 281 breweries, and reached its maximum in 1880 with 334; from that time on, from decade to decade, the number of breweries diminished, until in 1908 there were only 214 breweries in the state of New York. In Pennsylvania in 1870 there were 246 breweries, and in 1880 it had reached its highest number,

with 302; this had decreased by 1908 to 248 breweries. In the state of Illinois the breweries decreased from 148 in 1870 to 120 in 1908; in Ohio, from 199 to 143; in Wisconsin, from 176 in 1870 and 205 in 1880 it came down to 156 in 1908. The same was the case in Missouri; from 87 in 1870 it came down to 55 in the same space of time. California, which had 185 breweries in 1880, reduced the number to 109 by 1908.

Everywhere, then, we see a large decrease in the number of breweries, with a simultaneous growth in the production. Great capitalism had taken entire possession of the brewing industry.

This development of the brewing industry is paralleled by that in the development of the malteries. In 1890 the number of independent malteries in the country was 202, with a capitalization of \$24,000,000, and employing 3,328 workingmen. In 1905 there existed but 141 independent malteries, with a capitalization of \$48,000,000; the number of workingmen employed had fallen to 2,054. While, then, the number of establishments had been decreased by 61 and the number of workingmen had fallen 40 per cent, the capital employed in the industry had doubled. This is an example of how strong had been the development of capitalism in the malting industry during these fifteen years.

It may be mentioned in passing that the Brewers' Association systematically discriminated in favor of the larger saloons, to the detriment of the smaller ones. By this means they promoted the concentration process in the saloon business, which facilitated the operation of their business and promoted their own concentration.

Let us glance at the states in which during the last half century the brewing industry has had its special seats.

We have seen that at the beginning of the industry, only the states of New York and Pennsylvania came into consideration in beer-brewing. These two states stand even

The Concentration of the Industry.

today at the head of the list in the production of beer, although several states in the Middle West are trying very hard to come near to Pennsylvania. In 1863, the state of New York had already a beer production of 968,094 barrels, and Pennsylvania 348,862 barrels, while Ohio as the third greatest beer state of the Union produced 240,781 barrels. None of the other states had a yearly beer production of more than 200,000 barrels. After the war, in 1870, New York had increased its beer production to 1,992,956 barrels. Pennsylvania had come up to 788,034 barrels, and Ohio to 570,922. All the other states counted for less, none of them having a production of 500,000 barrels. Ten years later, in 1880, New York had again more than doubled its beer production; it now produced 4,445,149 barrels. Pennsylvania now had 1,284,887 barrels. And Ohio also had passed the million limit, producing 1,194,382 barrels. In 1890, New York jumped to 8,435,111 barrels; Pennsylvania produced in this year 2,658,195 barrels and Ohio 2,301,413. Now Illinois had risen to considerable importance in the production of beer; in this same year this state produced 2,182,678 barrels, showing an enormous progress in the last two decades, for in 1873 its production was only 520,393 barrels, and in 1880 only 766,730.

In 1900, the beer production of New York rose to 9,946,968 barrels; that of Pennsylvania to 4,917,413 barrels. Ohio, with 3,050,930 barrels, was overtaken by Illinois, which produced 3,680,232, and Wisconsin, with 3,205,265 barrels. The last named state had only produced 62,000 barrels in 1863; in 1870 only 190,000; it rose by 1880 to 791,783, and by 1890 to 1,981,201 barrels, and in 1900 it reached the fourth place in the list of beer producing states of the Union. Of the other states, none reached in that year a beer production of 3,000,000 barrels. By the year 1907 the order of the five most important beer states

in America had not changed: New York led with 13,016,904 barrels; then followed Pennsylvania with 7,541,796; Illinois, with 5,423,280; Wisconsin, with 4,985,139; and Ohio, with 4,323,141. Then came Missouri, with 3,848,693, and New Jersey, with 3,138,398 barrels, while none of the other states reached this amount.

Hand in hand with the increased production goes an increase in the average consumption of beer per capita of the population.

In 1850 there was an average consumption of about one gallon per capita per year. By 1863 the consumption had risen to 1.87 gallons, and under the influence of the Civil War it had jumped to 5.31 gallons per head in 1870. Since then the average consumption of beer in the United States has risen constantly. In 1880 it was 8.26 gallons; ten years later, 13.67; by 1900 it had grown to 16.01 gallons, and in 1908 to a little over 20 gallons.

It is of interest to note that, while the average beer consumption per capita has increased more than ten-fold, the consumption of spirituous liquors has remained pretty stable.

In 1863 the consumption of spirituous liquors in the United States was 0.52 gallons per capita. Under the influence of the Civil War and the heavy consumption in the field in the next year the consumption was increased five-fold and amounted to 2.55 gallons per capita, and after 1870 it was 2.7 gallons. By 1880 the consumption had fallen to 1.27 gallons, and since that time has remained about stationary, the average consumption in the year 1900 still being 1.27 gallons per capita.

It is easy to understand that with the development of brewing, the production of raw materials necessary for the making of malt beverages has also been increased as much as the beer production itself. While in 1850 the barley harvest in the United States amounted to 5,167,015

bushels, by 1906 it had reached the figure of 178,916,484 bushels, the value of which for the farmer was \$75,000,000. The production of barley is largest in the Northwestern states, especially Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, particularly, however, in California, which in 1906 had a barley harvest of 38,760,000 bushels.

The planting of hops also increased with the development of the brewing industry. In 1840 only 6,000 bales of hops, weighing 200 pounds each, were produced in the United States. Twenty years later, 1860, the hop harvest of our country amounted already to 55,000 bales, and by 1900 to 226,500. Until then the state of New York still produced a good part of the hops, but it now has to give precedence to the Pacific states. During the past year, out of a total hop harvest of 250,000 bales, New York produced only 30,000, and all the rest was grown in Oregon, California and Washington.

The brewing industry in the United States is largely concentrated in the great cities in which the population is largely of a North European origin. The city of New York, with a yearly production of 10,000,000 barrels, stands at the head. Then follow Chicago, with 4,500,000 and Milwaukee, with 4,000,000 barrels. St. Louis, Philadelphia and Newark and the vicinity follow in order, with an average yearly production of about 3,000,000 barrels.

The largest beer breweries are to be found in these central places of the American brewing industry. In St. Louis, Milwaukee, and New York we find single breweries which have a yearly production of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 barrels, and which belong among the largest beer establishments of the world.

4. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BREWERY CAPITALISTS.

The brewery capitalists, earlier than those of other industries, recognized the value of organization and acted accordingly. It lay in the nature of the brewing business that those connected with it should unite to protect their business interests much sooner than the capitalists in other branches of production. While the capitalists in the textile, iron and other industries, in general, organized only after their workingmen had sought to improve their own condition by organization and struggle and had demanded for themselves a share in the benefits flowing from the development of industry, the brewing capitalists, on the other hand, began to organize long before their workingmen had thought of united action. As we have said, this lay in the nature of the industry, and was due to the special enemies which threatened to hinder or destroy this industry.

In the main, it was the state and the temperance agitation in America which were the enemies of the brewing industry in the beginning—the state, because it sought to fill its coffers at the expense of the brewing industry, and the temperance agitation, because it attempted by legislation and by social pressure to restrict the consumption of alcoholic drinks.

Scarcely had the hostilities of the Civil War broken out and the necessity arisen for putting a large army in the field, when the Congress at Washington decreed, July 1, 1862, that in order to help meet the expenses of the war each barrel of beer was to pay a war tax of one dollar. The brewery owners became uneasy. They made loud professions of patriotic sentiment, and declared that that they would gladly pay the war tax of \$1 a barrel—especially as they would get it back by raising the price or reducing the quality of their beer. But in reality they

were not satisfied, because they feared that an increase of the price or a deterioration of the quality of beer would diminish the consumption, just at the moment when beer was at the point of establishing its domination throughout the country. Besides, no one could tell how the war would develop, and they were afraid that beer might again be resorted to in order to meet increased war expenses—that is, that it might be made to “bleed” still further as a subject for taxation. They therefore came to the conclusion that an organized opposition by the brewing interests was in order.

It was John R. Katzenmayer, an 1848 refugee from Baden, who was now in the employ of the brewing firm of A. Schmid & Co., of New York, who issued a call to the brewers of New York and the vicinity, soon after the tax had been imposed. In this call he urged the organization of all brewers and allied industries for the purpose of protecting their common interests.

In response to this call, a meeting was held in Pythagoras Hall, New York City, on August 21, 1862, at which a local organization of brewing capitalists was formed. This meeting decided to call a national convention of brewery capitalists, which met on November 12, 1862, also in Pythagoras Hall.

It was as this convention that the National Brewers' Association was founded.

In the beginning, only the brewers of lager beer belonged to this organization, but the ale and porter brewers also joined the Association soon afterward. The influence which the Germans exercised in this organization is shown by the fact that the proceedings of the conventions were for many years conducted in the German language, and all the early publications of the Association were exclusively in that language. Even in the convention of 1868, it was decided that the proceedings should be

conducted in German, but that important questions and addresses should be translated into English. This qualification was made out of consideration for the ale and porter brewers, most of whom spoke only English. Not until 1872 was it decided that the official language of the brewers' conventions should be alternately German and English—English in one year and German in the next. Gradually, in the following years, the English language supplanted the German in the proceedings of the brewers. The helplessness which at first prevailed in all the parliamentary proceedings of the brewers' convention made them for many years the butt for all kinds of sneering remarks.

The second convention of the National Brewers' Association was held in February, 1863, at Philadelphia. It was attended by the Western brewers, who had not been present at the first convention. Naturally the greater part of the proceedings were devoted to the question of the taxation of beer, and it was resolved to make an attempt to get the war tax reduced to fifty cents a barrel. In fact, the committee which had been sent to Washington to influence the action of Congress had so far succeeded as to procure the reduction of the tax on beer to sixty cents a barrel for the period from March, 1863, to April, 1864, but with the understanding that after the last named date a full dollar a barrel would again be imposed.

The brewers' conventions and their committees undertook also to make their influence felt with regard to the duties imposed upon the importation of raw materials which were used in the beer-brewing industry. At the convention which was held in Chicago, in 1867, an agitation was started to procure the reduction of the tariff on imported barley, which was said to be desirable because the barley of America was gradually degenerating in quality. In this matter, however, the interests of the farmers prevailed over those of the brewery capitalists.

Congress not only did not reduce the tariff on barley, but it actually increased it. On the whole, however, the legislative committees of the brewers' organization—which had in the mean time changed its name to the United States Brewers' Association—succeeded in defeating many of the plans of their opponents in Congress. An example of this was the defeat of a bill offered in 1870, which, if enacted, would have put the entire industry under the control of the United States revenue authorities. It is of interest to note that when discussion of the means of preventing this change in the collection of the internal revenue took place at the convention held in 1870 at Davenport, and among other methods political action in the interest of the brewing capitalists was threatened, a New York brewer named Clausen declared that if the proposed law should go into effect the brewers would form an organization which would not only control \$200,000,000 of capital, but which would have thousands of political votes at its disposal, and then the law-givers of the nation would be compelled to recognize the power of the brewers.

It has already been remarked that the brewing industry did not only have the taxation by the national government as its opponent, but that the agitation of the temperance advocates and the Prohibitionists also helped to drive the young industry to organization in defense of its interests.

During the Civil War, naturally, the Prohibitionist movement could not make itself felt. As long as the war continued, the great struggle for the maintenance of the Union and the question of negro slavery and its abolition, which was so closely connected with this struggle, put all other questions into the background. But almost as soon as the war had ceased and negro slavery had been abolished, the Prohibitionist movement started up again and concentrated its energies especially against the beer-

brewing industry, which had expanded so rapidly during the war.

The question of prohibition and all that was connected with it first arose in the Brewers' Association at the convention which was held in St. Louis in 1866. This convention warned the members of the organization not to rest in fancied security, as fanatics were at work who, under the pretext that they wanted the Sunday and temperance laws enforced, "were in reality seeking to undermine the self-respect and independence of humanity and to destroy business and freedom of conscience."

In the convention of 1873, also, which was held in Cleveland, the question of the temperance agitation came up for consideration, and it was resolved that the constitutionality of certain prohibitory laws enacted in several states should be tested by appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The national organization of the brewing capitalists was at first under the leadership of its secretary, John R. Katzenmayer, who died in 1866. His son, Richard Katzenmayer, succeeded him in the following year, and was at the head of the organization as secretary until the year 1898. He was succeeded by Gallus Thomann, who was elected secretary of the organization of the brewery capitalists at the convention held in Atlantic City. The convention of 1902 fixed the salary of the secretary at \$6,000 a year, with the provision that Gallus Thomann was to receive a lifelong pension of \$2,000 a year when he should resign his post. It will be seen from this that the brewing capitalists are pretty liberal in rewarding the men who work for the protection of their interests.

Besides the government, which taxed the brewing industry in order to fill its treasury, and the temperance advocates, who saw in the consumption of beer a source of peril to the people, another antagonist of the brewing

capitalists now came into the foreground, and this new danger was pretty thoroughly discussed in the meetings of the Brewers' Association. The brewery workmen knocked loudly at the doors of the employers and announced that they wanted their share of the immense wealth which they had produced for the employing brewers. They demanded the benefits which the workingmen of other trades had obtained through their struggles. They demanded human treatment, an adequate wage, and tolerable working hours. They demanded the abolition of the condition of virtual slavery under which the workingmen of the breweries especially had existed, notwithstanding the wealth which the brewery owners had accumulated.

Before the eighties we find in the recorded proceedings of the conventions of the brewing capitalists hardly any mention of their employees. But from this time on, the workingmen made themselves felt and in almost every one of the later conventions of the employers the question of opposing the demands of their workingmen occupied the bulk of the proceedings.

Aside from the national organization of the brewing capitalists, there had also, in the mean time, been formed state and local organizations. There was scarcely a legislative enactment in any state of the Union which was not watched and acted upon by the organization of the brewers. There was scarcely a legislature in which there were not well paid agents of the brewing capitalists who made it their business to guard their interests.

Other trades connected with the brewing industry had also by this time formed organizations. The malting capitalists, for instance, held a convention at Niagara in 1874, at which they formed a national organization. The brewmasters, the technically trained employees of the breweries, also organized on March 21, 1887, forming a national association whose purposes were stated to be the

promotion of mutual acquaintance, the furthering of the brewing industry, the discussion of scientific questions connected with the brewing industry, and the advancement of the education of the brewery workmen. The regulation of the apprentice system in the breweries was to receive special attention. This organization holds yearly meetings in order to promote these purposes. It has not, however, acquired any considerable importance in the industry.

5. COMPARATIVE REVIEW.

While the consumption of wine and spirits per capita of the population has during the recent decades remained practically stationary, the consumption of beer has steadily increased in all industrial countries. There appears to be a connection between industrial development and the consumption of beer. This is explained by the fact that the development of industry concentrates the population in large cities and brings large numbers of people together at their work in great factories and industrial villages.

Not only in the United States, but also in the various countries of Europe, the production of beer has undergone a steady expansion. This increase was especially noticeable in the later sixties of the nineteenth century and until the economic crisis of 1873, when a reaction set in which was not overcome until the eighties.

Down to 1885, Great Britain stood at the head of all beer-producing countries. Then it was overtaken by Germany, and during the last few years the United States has increased its production of beer to such an extent that it also is ahead of Great Britain. It is very likely that in the near future the United States will surpass even Germany and will head the list of the beer-producing countries of the world.

The annual production of beer in Great Britain increased from 650,000,000 gallons in 1840 to 1,020,000,000

gallons in 1880. In the same space of time Germany increased its output of beer from 500,000,000 to 850,000,000 gallons. While in 1885 the German Empire produced about 36,000,000 barrels of beer, and in 1908 about 62,000,000 barrels, during the same period Great Britain showed an increase from 38,000,000 to 48,000,000 barrels. The United States, however, increased its beer production during the same years from 19,000,000 barrels to 59,000,000 barrels.

The consumption of beer per capita of the population rises constantly. In Germany in 1885, it amounted on the average to 23.76 gallons per year, and by 1900 this had increased to 35.47 gallons. In Great Britain the average in 1885 was 32.52 gallons and increased to 38.04 gallons in 1900. In the United States, during the same period, the average consumption increased from 10.62 gallons to 16.01 gallons per capita; and this rose by 1908 to something over 20 gallons. In the German Empire, of course, the average consumption of beer varies greatly in different regions. Bavaria stands at the head, with 62 gallons per capita. It is followed by Württemberg, with 46.5 gallons, and by Baden, with 40.9 gallons. After Bavaria, Salzburg shows the highest beer consumption in the world, with an average of 59.6 gallons per capita. Belgium, with 44.8 gallons, and Bohemia, with 39.6 gallons per capita, also consume large quantities.

The largest number of breweries is still to be found in Germany; in that country, in spite of the high development of the brewing industry, there still exist a great number of small breweries, which yet retain the methods of production by hand labor characteristic of a peasant society. In the year 1897 Germany had in operation 21,236 breweries, while Great Britain had only 8,196, which, however, produced almost the same quantity of beer as the 21,236 breweries of Germany. This fact shows that the

great capitalistic character of the British brewing industry is much more pronounced than that of the German.

Aside from the United States, Germany and Great Britain, which countries, as we have seen, produce yearly from 48,000,000 to 62,000,000 barrels, the chief beer-producing countries of the world are Austria-Hungary, with an annual production of 19,000,000 barrels; Belgium, with 14,000,000, and France, with 12,000,000 barrels. Russia produces 5,000,000 barrels a year, and no other country comes up to that mark. The entire beer production of the world for the year 1908 is stated at 233,000,000 barrels.

Hand in hand with the increase in the beer production of the world, goes an increase in the production of the raw materials which are necessary for the preparation of beer. The barley harvest of the world amounted in 1900 to nearly 1,000,000,000 bushels, of which three-fourths were produced in Europe, where Russia, Germany and Austria are the principal barley-growing countries. About half of this barley was used for malting purposes. The hop harvest of the world amounts to about 2,000,000 hundredweight, of which two-thirds are produced in Europe. Aside from the United States, Germany, England, and Austria are the countries which call for especial mention as producers of hops.

In conclusion, a comparison between the consumption of beer and the consumption of other alcoholic beverages may be of interest.

Whereas, as we have seen, the average consumption of beer has on the whole shown a steady increase, the average consumption of wine and spirits has remained stationary. In the United States in 1885 the average consumption of wine per capita was 0.39 gallons per year, and in 1900 it was 0.40 gallons. In England the corresponding figures are 0.45 and 0.46. In Germany the

consumption of wine decreased during this period, but it increased in France. In the German Empire, in 1885, there was an average consumption of 2.32 gallons of wine per capita; in the wine country, France, it was 25.56 gallons. By 1900, the average wine consumption in the German Empire had fallen to 1.74 gallons, while in France it had risen to 30.90 gallons per capita.

The consumption of spirits has been even more nearly stationary than that of wine. In 1885 in the United States it amounted to an average of 1.26 gallons per capita, and by 1900 it had increased only to 1.27 gallons. For France the corresponding figures are 2.02 for 1885 and 2.42 for 1900. In England, too, the consumption of spirits has remained almost stationary. In 1885 it amounted to 1.15 gallons per capita, and fifteen years later it was 1.34 gallons.

Only Germany seems to have progressed in the consumption of spirits also. In 1888, for every German subject there was a consumption of 2.83 gallons of spirits per year; in 1900, it was 3.45 gallons—an advance of which the Germans have no reason to be proud.

PART II.



The Brewery Workers' Movement.

CHAPTER I.

Prior to Organization.

THE transformation which the capitalistic development produced in the brewing industry could not remain without its effect upon the workingmen who were employed in the industry.

As long as the production of fermented beverages was carried on by hand labor, the relation of the brewer to his workmen corresponded to the relation between the craftsman and the apprentice or, better still, to the relation between the small peasant and his serf. With the increasing importance of the industry and the growing magnitude of the establishments, with the increasing use of machinery and the growing wealth of the brewery owners, the distance between them and their workingmen became greater and greater. The personal relationship between the two parties came to an end. Social distinctions began to make themselves felt and class differences became recognized in every way. The workingman was farther and farther removed from the purchaser of his labor power.

The condition of the brewery workmen in America before their organization was as bad as can be imagined. It was not only that the wages paid were the smallest possible and that the working time was confined only by the natural limits of human endurance, but besides this the treatment of the workmen was of such a kind that it seems impossible today to understand how they could submit to it. Cuffs and blows were everyday occurrences. When the brewery owner developed into a great capitalist, he transferred to his foremen the privilege of beating the men which he had formerly exercised in

person, and the foremen continued to use it until the brewery workmen through their organization freed themselves from this remnant of the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

There are few trustworthy sources of detailed information as to the conditions then prevailing. In the main, we are confined to information gained by word of mouth. The Census Bureau of the United States has published some statistics concerning the brewery workers since 1850; but, as we shall see, these figures are of little value.

In the middle of the forties of the nineteenth century, the brewery workers received wages of from \$4 to \$6 a week. There were some who got \$9 a week, but they were exceptional. Five dollars a week may be taken as the average at that time. This is for the week-workers; but most of the brewery laborers were employed by the month. They received at that time from \$4 to \$12 a month, together with board and lodging and washing. In some cases the brewery owners themselves boarded their hands; in others they employed for this purpose confidential persons whom they could trust to look out for their interests.

A report of the Census Bureau at Washington, which was published in June, 1902, and deals especially with the production of alcoholic beverages, gives some information about the number of brewery workmen in the years from 1850 to 1880. According to this report there were in 1850 in the United States 2,347 workmen employed in breweries. By 1860 this number had increased to 6,433, and by 1870 to 12,443. For the year 1880 the number of brewery workmen is given as 26,220, and workingmen in the malteries as 2,332. Women and children also were employed in the brewing industry, but comparatively few. The number of women thus employed was 11 in 1850 and 29 in 1880. Child labor first appears

in 1870. The Census Bureau gives the number of children employed at that time as 94, and ten years later this had increased to 190.

In the figures given by the Census, office workers and foremen are included, so that it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of actual brewery workmen. The number of office workers, superintendents, and officials, etc., must even at that time have been a considerable one. In 1870 the Census reported that the entire body of workers in the breweries of the United States amounted to 12,443, but as said before, this included the other auxiliary forces. Four years later, when the growth of the industry should have brought the number of workingmen together with office employees up to at least 16,000, the brewing capitalists reported at the convention held in Boston, that they employed in the beer breweries 11,138 workingmen. It seems then that of the figures given by the Census about one-third represented the office staff, etc., and two-thirds represented the real brewery workmen.

The same uncertainty which prevails with regard to the number of workingmen employed prevails also with regard to the rate of wages paid. The wages of the brewery workmen and the salaries of the foremen and the office employees are all lumped together, so that the figures given are practically without value, especially as in collecting these figures no account was taken whether the workmen received board and lodging or not. The average wage, according to the Census, in the year 1850, amounted to \$278 a year—that is, about \$5.30 a week. By 1860 this average had risen to \$358 a year, and for 1870 the average yearly wage is even given as high as \$543. In 1880, however, after the terrible crisis of 1873-'76, the average had fallen to \$465. For the 2,332 workingmen employed in the malteries of the United States, an average yearly earning of \$430 is given.

However, as has already been said, these figures of the census have only a relative value, as the wages of the best paid officials and office employees are reckoned in, so that in reality the wages of the brewery workmen in those years were far lower than indicated by the census figures. In addition to this, it must be taken into consideration that the census statistics presume that the workers are employed through the entire year, which, of course, was true only in a few cases.

In regard to the distribution of workingmen to the individual establishments, there was in 1850 an average of five workingmen to each brewery. The same ratio still prevailed in 1860. By 1870 the average had risen to six workingmen per brewery, and by 1880, with the development of the methods of great industry, this number had doubled. In the year 1900 there was an average of 26 workingmen for each brewery in the United States, and by 1905 the number had reached 31. These figures, too, show the concentration of industry.

The working hours for men employed in breweries and malteries were absolutely unregulated before the organization of the men. It might be said that they were always working except when they were asleep. A foreman malter from Buffalo reports as follows concerning the hours of labor in malteries in the year 1863: "Work began at five o'clock in the morning, and, with the exception of an hour for breakfast and for dinner, it lasted until six in the evening. At eight the men went to work again, in order to finish their floor and kiln work, which lasted until half-past nine or ten o'clock."

In reality, conditions were even worse than this report would lead one to believe.

Down to 1880 a working day of from fourteen to eighteen hours was a normal thing in the breweries of the United States. In addition to this, the men worked

six or eight hours on Sunday. In many cases they worked until ten o'clock, and were awakened at one to start work again. In some places they worked even longer than eighteen hours.

In the sixties the wages of brewery workmen amounted to from \$20 to \$25 a month. They were boarded and lodged by the employer. The workingmen were, so to speak, counted in with the employer's family. Their sleeping places were as a rule not of the best. In the beginning of the seventies, as the consumption of beer increased, it became customary for the brewer to turn over his workmen to boarding houses which bought beer from him. The wages without board now rose to \$40 or \$45 a month. Very often the foreman of the brewery boarded the men who worked under him. During the latter half of the seventies, the wages paid in New York rose from \$40 to \$50 a month, and some specially "trusty" workmen received as much as \$52 to \$55. The brewmaster fixed the rate of wages for the individual workman, which, of course, introduced a great deal of favoritism, destroyed the independence of the workmen, and gave rise to parasitism and sycophancy.

From the wages of \$40 to \$55 a month which the brewery workmen in New York were receiving shortly before 1880 (elsewhere it was only \$35 or \$40), the brewery boss deducted \$5 a week for board and the remaining \$20 or \$25 was paid over to the workman. The workingmen were generally compelled to live wherever the boss required. Frequently they had to sleep together in one large room, but very often they were so exhausted with their heavy work that they simply threw themselves down on the hop-sacks in the brewery to sleep a few hours till work began again.

The inhumanly long hours of labor and the consequent exhaustion of the men led to an excessive use of beer,

which was always at their disposal, but which was frequently taken into consideration in fixing the wages. In the year 1868 the Internal Revenue Office at Washington made a ruling to the effect that the beer which was given to the brewery workmen as a part of their wages or as an inducement to them to work for lower wages should pay the internal revenue the same as beer which was sold. The "Sternewirth" was always at the unlimited disposal of the workmen. The fatigue and exhaustion resulting from their hard and long continued work compelled the men to drink. They had to drink in order to keep themselves going. They needed the stimulant in order to be able to perform their difficult tasks. The employers knew this, and therefore they provided unlimited quantities of beer for their workmen. They were well aware that sober workmen would not submit to the hard treatment, the inhuman hours of labor, and the low wages that prevailed. They promoted drunkenness among their men and sought to degrade them in order that they might exploit them and use them up the more freely.

CHAPTER II.

Beginnings of Organization.

1. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS.

WHILE the development of industry in the United States had given birth to a number of small trade-unions as early as the middle of the last century, it was not until the end of the seventies that the brewery workmen began to grasp the idea that in union there is strength and that if they were united they would then be in a position to improve their horrible lot. This was in part due to the inhuman conditions under which the brewery workmen labored, and partly to the special character of the brewing industry.

In all industries in which the greater part of the capital invested is constant capital—that is, capital which takes the form of factories, machinery, raw materials, etc., or, in brief, the means of production—the labor movement develops later than in those industries in which the greater part of the capital is variable capital—that is, capital which is used in the purchase of labor-power, in the payment of wages. The reason for this is obvious. In industries employing large numbers of workingmen, just on account of their large number the social distinction between the capitalists and the working class is more quickly perceived by the workingmen. Therefore, in those cases where large numbers of workingmen are employed, regular organizations of workingmen will be formed sooner than in industries employing but few wage-workers.

The brewing industry is one of those in which the capital used for the purchase of labor-power plays but a comparatively small part. In comparison with the total capital in use in the brewing industry only a few work-

ingmen are employed. These men, owing to their hard labor and the inhuman conditions under which they worked, did not have much opportunity for organization. About 1870 there were on the average only six workmen for each brewery in the United States, and by 1880 this number had grown only to twelve. There were but a few breweries which employed more than this average number. This fact explains why, in spite of the great development of this industry after the Civil War, the workingmen employed in it were so late in organizing their trade.

Before their organization into trade-unions, however, there were formed here and there some mutual aid societies, which were the fruit of the first realization by the men that they needed union among themselves in order to withstand the storms of life. In Cincinnati, where the brewing industry had acquired some importance in the fifties, such a brewers' mutual aid society was founded in 1852.

Even earlier than this steps had been taken in St. Louis to gather the German brewers of that city into a kind of union. It is reported from that city, under the date of May 10, 1850, that a mass meeting of German workingmen was held for the purpose of discussing the means to call into being "associations," a kind of trade organizations according to the ideas of Weitling. A committee was appointed consisting of three members of each of the trades represented in the meeting. Those elected to this committee from the beer brewers were H. Fritz, H. Wagner, and H. Busch. It is not known what came of this first attempt to found a union of brewery workmen on American soil.

In New York about 1860 there arose a brewers' military company known as "The Original Brewers' and Coopers' Guard." This developed out of the custom of holding an annual picnic accompanied by a parade, which

was attended by both brewery owners and brewery workmen, and which took place mostly in Jones' Woods. Out of this Brewers' Guard, whose chief personage at this time was J. C. Glaser-Hüpfel, there developed the "Original Brewers' and Coopers' Sick Benefit and Mutual Aid Association of New York," which was founded on October 26, 1867, and which still exists. The brewery owner Hüpfel, already mentioned, who is even now an honorary member of the organization, was elected its first president. The other officers were Henry Fritz, Fred Götz, Georg Ringler, Oscar Rocke, and others. Fifty-one members joined the newly-formed society at its first meeting, and twenty-eight more followed at the second meeting.

This brewers' mutual aid society included employers as well as workmen in its membership. The exclusive purpose of the organization, which was at first confined to Manhattan Island, was assistance in case of sickness, death, or accident, and it was emphasized that in a country, where those of foreign birth find themselves lonely and friendless and in a clime where sickness brings misfortune and misery into numberless families, it is the duty of every father of a family to make provision for protecting those dependent upon him when he himself is not in a position to earn their daily bread.

No thought was yet given in brewery workmen's circles at that time to the improvement of the workmen's conditions within their trade by means of organization, and the Brewers' Mutual Aid Association took no steps in that direction, although especially at that time—immediately after the Civil War—the labor movement in America, and more particularly in New York, showed signs of rapid growth.

In August, 1866, a general convention of workmen was held in Baltimore. As a result of this convention the shortening of the working day to eight hours became the

principal demand of the entire organized proletariat of America. From California to Maine the demand for the eight-hour day was so incessantly agitated in all labor meetings that in 1868, just before the Presidential election, the Congress of the United States felt itself compelled to enact that famous Eight-hour Law, which provided that henceforth eight hours should constitute a day's labor on all government work.

The courts soon put an end to this Eight-hour Law. However, the struggle for the enactment of this law and for its enforcement gave a mighty impetus to the labor movement. When, after the Franco-Prussian War, the German labor movement in New York showed signs of renewed activity, the demand for the eight-hour day again became the battle-cry of all organized workingmen. In 1872 the existing trade-unions formed "eight-hour leagues" for the express purpose of carrying on a propaganda for the shortening of the working day. The labor movement became so lively that both the Republican and the Democratic parties embodied eight-hour planks in their respective platforms. In May, 1872, there broke out a general strike of the workmen in the building trades in New York City, which was the beginning of the greatest struggle between capital and labor that has ever taken place in that city. No less than one hundred thousand men left their work.

It was these struggles that for the first time aroused the brewery workers of New York against the intolerable oppression under which they suffered.

A meeting of brewery workmen was called. Shorter working hours and higher wages were demanded, and resolutions were passed to that effect. It was only a handful of men in whom class consciousness thus stirred for the first time and led them to resolve to struggle for an improvement of their conditions. They decided to go from one brewery to another, and on one of the following

days they took up their march and presented their demands at every brewery in turn. At the same time the workingmen in the various breweries were approached and urged to join in the movement, which most of them did. Their demands, however, were refused by all the brewery owners, whereupon the men laid down their work. This was the first time that a strike of brewery workers was undertaken on American soil. Demonstrations and processions were held by the men. On Thirty-eighth street it came to a fight between the police and the strikers when the police tried to break up the brewery workers' procession by the most brutal use of their clubs. The strike was lost. It could not well be otherwise, as the men had no real organization. Many of the strikers, and especially of their leaders, were kept out of the breweries for a long time, the brewery owners everywhere refusing them employment. Thus was the first wave of the brewery workmen's movement dashed to pieces against the power of the brewery capitalists.

The condition of the workmen remained for the present unchanged. To toil from earliest morn till late at night, and to drink so as to keep up their strength—that was the daily routine of the brewery workmen. And along with this a scale of wages which contrasted with the wages of other workingmen in the same way as the eighteen-hour workday of the brewery workmen contrasted with the legal eight-hour day. The crisis of 1873 and the widespread unemployment which resulted from it made conditions worse than ever and excluded every thought of resistance. When in 1877 the American working class again began to grow uneasy, and when the great strike of the railroad workers led to general struggles and disturbances, the brewery owners, probably recalling to mind the strike of their own slaves in the year 1872, decided to give a few crumbs from their wealth to the men who produced

all their riches. The wages of the brewery workmen were increased from \$40 and \$45 to \$50 and \$52 a month. In this way the strike of 1872, though lost, yet did lead, after half a decade, to an improvement in the condition of those who were at first defeated.

In the labor movement even the lost battles bring progress for the fighters.

2. THE FIRST BREWERY WORKMEN'S UNIONS.

The general growth of the labor movement after the troubles of 1877 led, as we have seen, to a small increase of wages in the brewing industry in New York. It did not, however, have a strong enough effect to bring about the organization of the workingmen in that industry.

Such was not the case in Cincinnati, and it was there that the first brewery workmen's union was called into existence.

As a result of the railroad workers' strike in 1877, a certain excitement took hold of the brewery workmen of Cincinnati. They came to realize more and more fully that the wretched condition of the brewery workmen could be brought to an end only if they organized and by a united struggle for their own interests won from the brewery capitalists improved working conditions and treatment fit for human beings. So great, however, was their dependence upon the brewery owners and the difficulties in their way, that it was not until 1879 that they at last succeeded in forming an organization, after the failure of efforts toward that end in 1877 and 1878.

The first brewery workmen's union was born in Cincinnati on December 26, 1879. It was called the "Brauer Gesellen Union," and its president was John Alexander. The other officers were Ch. Schley, Julius Zorn, Fritz Bayer, and Hugo Framann.

The young organization affiliated itself with the general labor movement by electing delegates to what was

then the central labor body of Cincinnati, the Central Trades Assembly. Rapid progress was made, and within a short time the greater part of the men employed in the breweries of Cincinnati had joined the organization.

In the spring of 1881 it was decided that no brewery in Cincinnati should be considered a union establishment unless at least half of the men employed in it belonged to the union. As a result of the strength which the union gained through this procedure, it was decided in July of the same year to approach the brewery owners for the first time with general demands.

The demands presented were the following: 1. A reduction of the workday from thirteen hours to ten and a half hours; 2. A minimum wage of \$60 a month; 3. Permission for the workmen to get board and lodging wherever they pleased, so that they should not be compelled to board with the confidential agents of the brewery owners, the so-called "soul-sellers"; and 4. A reduction of Sunday work from eight to four hours.

Four of the breweries immediately granted these demands. Work was suspended in the other nineteen breweries, and at the same time a boycott was declared on all non-union beer. A few of the smaller breweries gave in, but the power of the larger brewery owners was at last able to defeat the success already achieved. Notwithstanding the support given by the organized workingmen, the struggle was dragged out, and finally a compromise settlement proposed to the brewery owners was rejected by them. The strike was lost and the union lost a large proportion of its membership. Nevertheless, the struggle had its effect. Soon afterwards the brewery owners reduced the working hours, both for weekdays and for Sundays. It took several years, of course, before the union recovered from the consequences of its defeat in this battle.

At the same time, in July, 1881, a struggle began on

the part of the unorganized brewery workmen in St. Louis, but it was without result and did not lead to the organization of the workers. It was otherwise in the city of New York, where in that same year the first attempts were made to unite the brewery workmen. Although these efforts did not lead to a permanent organization, they were of value because of the experience which the workingmen gained through them, and because they were made in the chief seat of the brewing industry, where it had already assumed a strongly capitalistic character. The lessons gained during these first attempts of the New York brewery workers proved valuable later when the organization became permanent.

On January 7, 1881, an accident took place in Peter Doelger's brewery in New York, in which four workmen lost their lives. This was a fire which started during the varnishing of a cask, in which the commonest precautions for safety had not been observed. The workmen who perished in it were A. Witscherock, J. Fanner, John Beierle, and John Braun. The coroner's jury who investigated the matter censured the foreman of the Doelger brewery, one Peter Buckel, and declared that the whole management of the brewery had been lax. In the course of the investigation it developed that the foreman was in the habit of whipping the men under him. The foreman, on the other hand, pointed out the condition of the workmen owing to their excessive indulgence in beer. These revelations attracted much attention, which was increased by the fact that further accidents happened in different breweries. In the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, the organ of the German workingmen of New York, numerous communications appeared, pointing out the evils existing in the breweries, while the entire bourgeois press systematically suppressed all that would throw light on these evils. On February 23, in addition to the previous contribu-

tions, "A Few Brewery Workmen" sent in an appeal in which they advocated the union of all the workers in the trade. The men employed in the Henry Elias Brewing Company were especially active in the organization of their trade. They distributed circulars in all the breweries of the city, advocating the founding of an organization. A brewers' meeting was called for Sunday, March 6, 1881, to take place in Wendel's Assembly Rooms. At this meeting, which was presided over by Phil. Schöttgen and whose secretary was John Bühl, the first "Brewery Workmen's Union of New York and Vicinity" was started. George Block, who was then active on the *Volkszeitung*, F. Hartung, B. Kaufmann, and others presented the necessity for organization. One hundred and twenty-one members immediately joined, and an executive committee of seven men was elected, who undertook the direction of the union.

This organization of the brewery workmen proposed, according to its constitution, to improve the condition of workers in the brewery trade and to enlighten them as to the rights and duties of the labor movement. The support of members when in need and in case of sickness or accident and the support of widows and orphans of deceased members was also among its purposes. Maltsters could become members of the brewery workmen's union only if they were at the same time brewers.

The new labor organization was for the present a great success. Within two months after its foundation, the union counted among its members all the brewers of New York (Manhattan), Brooklyn, Morrisania, Union Hill, Staten Island, and Newark, in as many distinct sections. The brewery owners, through their action, contributed not a little toward this rapid spread of the organization of their workmen. Immediately after the foundation of the union, in the breweries of J. Ruppert, Ringler, and F. & M. Schäfer, several officials and members of the union were

discharged on account of their connection with the organization. The *Volkszeitung* naturally brought this matter to the attention of the various labor organizations, whose members constituted the best customers of the breweries in question, and these organizations stood bravely on the side of the brewery workers. The Piano Makers' Union, an organization which at this time was particularly strong and militant, and the Carpenters and Joiners, also the German Cigar Makers, led the boycott against the beer of those breweries in which the union workmen had been thrown out. This was done in such an effective way that the owners of these breweries soon gave in. The union was recognized and the discharged workers were reinstated. The first victory of the organized brewery workers had been gained. Unfortunately, however, it was not far-reaching nor of long duration. The newly united workers began to overestimate their strength and threw themselves into further struggles for which they were not yet strong enough, and this brought destruction to the young organization.

3. THE STRIKE OF 1881.

The success which the Brewery Workers' Union had achieved in resisting the disciplinary measures on the part of the Ruppert, Ringler, and Schäfer firms, led to the opinion that the young organization was fit to enter further and more difficult struggles, and the idea gained headway that the time had come when it would be possible through a general struggle to improve the condition of the brewery workmen at one stroke.

The experienced representatives of the German trades in New York advised against rash action. They pointed out the youth of the organization, the lack of experience on the part of its members, and also their lack of knowledge in regard to the labor movement; they further

pointed out that not all branches of the brewing trade had been organized, and that therefore danger threatened from the unorganized branches. The warnings were in vain. The brewers had recognized their disgraceful condition; they felt as they had never felt before the terrible oppression which the brewery owners exercised over them; and they decided, with more courage than prudence, to venture a general fight. The following demands were submitted: A twelve-hour day on weekdays, inclusive of two hours for meals, and a two-hour day on Sundays, for which they were to be paid 50 cents an hour. In May these demands were presented to the brewery capitalists. Only a few small breweries which were dependent upon the organized workingmen for custom, and therefore could not risk a fight, acceded to the demands of their workmen. The majority of the brewery owners, however, and especially the large brewers, rejected the demands peremptorily.

The Brewery Workers' Union now decided, in spite of renewed warnings on the part of its friends of the other trades, to take up the fight and to declare a general stoppage of work in the entire brewing industry of New York and the vicinity. It was on Whit-Monday, June 6, 1881, that the decision to declare the strike went into effect.

But the suspension of work was not general. In the largest brewery of the city, George Ehret's, only a part of the brewery workers had joined the strike; the others had remained at work. In addition to this, the beer-wagon drivers, who up to then had not been organized, everywhere took the places of striking brewery workmen, and under the guidance of the brewmasters and foremen, they performed the work of the brewers. Although the central body of the workingmen of New York, the Central Labor Union, declared a boycott against all beer which had not been made by union workmen, and although the Central

✓ Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, which was then located in New York, was on the side of the striking workmen with a similar resolution—resolutions which the members of the organization lived up to as far as possible—a long period of bad weather injured the strikers' cause very much, because there was a small consumption ✓ of beer and little demand for it. The strike dragged itself out for five weeks, and then the Brewery Workers' Union was compelled to allow its members to look for work wherever they could find it. The strike was lost. The masters had triumphed over the men.

✓ The Brewery Workers' Union had lost the larger part of its membership during this struggle, because the brewery owners would not give work to anyone who had even the remotest connection with the trade-union. ✓ Whoever applied for work had to submit proof that he was no longer a member of the organization. The active members of the union, and especially its officials, were put on the black-list and could get work nowhere, or only where they were not known. ✓ Many had to leave New York and its vicinity. Under these circumstances, the continuance of the union was out of the question. It went down, destroyed by the superior power of the brewery capitalists and by the abuse of the economic power which they possessed.

Nevertheless, this lost strike also brought the defeated ones certain advantages. The brewery capitalists recognized that it was not well to draw the bow to the breaking point, and that they must especially take into consideration the mass of organized workingmen, who constituted the best customers for their product. In short, in the course of the summer which followed the strike, several of the larger breweries in New York introduced the twelve-hour day and diminished Sunday work. By so doing they really acceded to the demands of the striking workers. They had not, in fact, cared enough about these demands to

fight over them, but their purpose had been to destroy the very troublesome organization of their workmen, the trade-union. When they had succeeded in this, they were willing to grant what had been demanded. The fact that their workmen had organized in order to deal with the brewery capitalists on an equal footing and to force them to improve their conditions was what had called out the wrath of these gentlemen, and had induced them to use all their might in order to bring this organization of their men to an end. The brewery-owning gentlemen did not know that the labor movement was a necessary consequence of the development of industry, and especially of their own industry; that if it were once destroyed it must yet again raise its head; that the conditions which the capitalistic development of a trade brings with it for the workingmen of that trade must drive the workers to resistance—first to unorganized, then to organized resistance; and that, when this cannot be done openly, when the brutal power of the owners makes the striving of the workers for the betterment of their condition impossible in public, then secret organizations will be formed, and underhandedly and without the knowledge of the employers a fight against capital will be undertaken.

This showed itself, as we shall see, in the brewery industry of our country.

The brewery workers employed by one of the firms of New York, the Kuntz Brewery, resolved after the defeat and destruction of the Brewery Workers' Union, to form a secret organization. They formed an assembly and joined the Order of the Knights of Labor—without, however, being able to be active. The organization existed only for about a year, and was then dissolved.

For the present, then, every organization of the brewery workers of New York and the vicinity had been destroyed.

CHAPTER III.

Permanent Organization.

1. CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEFEAT.

THUS, for the present, the attempt of the brewery workers of New York to form an organization, as the brewery owners had done, was disastrously defeated. Though the working conditions in the breweries had been somewhat improved, the improvement did not by any means come up to the demands which the workers felt themselves justified in making, and the condition of the brewers still stood in marked contrast to the condition which the workers in most of the other branches of industry had gained for themselves.

For the moment, an open battle against the brewery owners was out of the question. The disciplinary regulations of the employers had especially struck down those workmen who had been the most intelligent and most earnest members of the destroyed union. A number of them were literally exposed to starvation and were compelled to go out into the country to small places where they were not known and to work there at their trade in order to earn their bread.

Several years elapsed before the brewery workers of New York had recovered from the defeat of 1881, and even then any open organization was not to be thought of. It seemed as if that one blow had paralyzed all the workers in the trade. Even the word "organization" brought terror to the masses, and it seemed as if the violent suppression of every free movement which the brewery capitalists had effected would have lasting results.

Nevertheless, the voices which exposed the shocking treatment of the brewery workers and which enlightened

the public as to the inhuman conditions of the proletarians in the beer industry could not be silenced. In the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* especially, which at that time as well as later warmly took the part of the brewery workmen, and proved a blessing for them, the disgraceful conditions which prevailed in the brewing industry were more and more frequently pointed out. A few workmen in the industry who had belonged to the recently destroyed union took preliminary steps toward the formation of a new organization of the workers in their trade.

However, it seemed evident that under the existing condition of things and with the pressure under which the brewery workers stood, an open declaration of war against the capitalists on the part of the terrorized workers could not be thought of. The founding of an open trade-union was then out of the question, because not only every official, but every member would be exposed to the danger of immediate discharge. The brewery capitalists were determined forcefully to prevent every effort at organization with all the means in their economic power. They did not understand that the labor movement was the necessary accompaniment of modern industry, and had no idea that with the development of their trade into a great industry the ground was naturally cleared for their workmen on which a uniting of the workers, a firm organization, and a battle for the betterment of their condition, had to develop. They believed, in their ignorance of social development, that it would be possible for them to prevent the organization of the workers of their industry for all eternity. They did not lack means, and they were determined to use their means, in order, as they expressed it, "to remain masters of their own breweries."

In the face of these conditions, it was, as has been said, impossible to think of an open battle or of open organization. The men were forced to meet in secret and

to form a secret organization, in order to wage an anonymous war against the capitalists in their trade who were thus abusing their power. The prevailing conditions of the American labor movement at that time and the fact that an important organization of American workingmen had been formed which waged its class war in secret and endeavored to improve their condition by secret means, made it easier for the brewery workers of New York to form a new organization, and made it possible for them to lay the foundation for the strong organization which later on they were able to make for themselves.

2. THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

The secret order of the Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in December, 1869.

In the beginning of the sixties an open trade-union of the garment cutters had been formed in that city, which soon gained great influence in the trade. This influence, however, proved not to be a lasting one. It was believed that the waning of its influence was due to the fact that, owing to the open meetings, the employers were kept informed of all the steps taken by their workingmen; and this opinion seems to be confirmed by the fact that especially active members of the union who proposed certain measures were refused employment wherever they applied for it. In November, 1869, a committee was chosen to consider plans for reorganization. This committee reported on December 9, 1869. It proposed the dissolution of the existing organization and at the same time suggested the forming of a secret organization. This proposition was approved by a part of the members. After the resolution to dissolve the union had been adopted and the meeting had adjourned, some of the members remained for the purpose of discussing further steps toward the establishment of a secret labor organization. A com-

mittee was instructed to do the preliminary work, and this committee reported at a meeting held on December 23. In a subsequent meeting which took place on December 28, the organization was effected which, under the name of the "Order of the Knights of Labor," played so important a role in the American labor movement.

There were only seven persons who formed the first "assembly" of the new order, among them being the man who later became the first "Grand Master Workman" of the order, Uriah S. Stephens. The growth of the new organization was very slow. After three months of existence its membership had only reached 28, after half a year only 43, and after nine months only 52, of whom only 42 had met their obligations. After being in existence one full year the only assembly of the order had but 69 members in good standing.

It was not until 1872 that a second assembly was founded by the ship-carpenters of Delaware, and from that time on the organization grew more rapidly. During that same year the number of assemblies in Philadelphia grew to twenty. The first assembly in New York was formed by the gold workers. In December, 1873, the first "district assembly" was formed. This was a body consisting of delegates from the local organizations. The first "general assembly" of the order was held in Reading, Pa., in 1878, and it was there that Uriah S. Stephens was elected Grand Master Workman. Delegates from six states in the Union were present.

Until 1879 the name of the organization, as well as its purposes and its entire plan, were kept secret. In 1879 the district assemblies were given permission to use the title "Knights of Labor" in public.

At about this time the number of members in good standing did not exceed 5,000, and they were distributed in 700 local organizations.

In the General Assembly of 1879 the Grand Master Workman, Stephens, resigned his office, and Terence V. Powderly was elected to succeed him.

Down to the middle of the eighties the progress of the Order was slow, but steady. Towards the end of 1885 and the beginning of 1886, however, its membership as well as its influence began to grow rapidly. Hundreds of new assemblies were founded. Thousands of members joined the ranks, and the organization of the Knights of Labor became the most powerful association of workingmen which had existed on American soil up to that time.

Strikes and boycotts became especially frequent at this time, in which the Knights of Labor took part, although the members generally, and particularly the officers, did not much believe in the strike method, and the organization tried to avoid strikes. This is but another illustration of the fact that economic occurrences such as the strike in the labor movement cannot be prevented by resolutions and by-laws, any more than can revolutionary phenomena and movements which grow out of the development of society.

The Order of the Knights of Labor emphasized the general demands of the working class. It took vigorous action in favor of the eight-hour day, agitated against child labor, and in general taught the solidarity of the working class. Efforts to establish the eight-hour day were made not only by exercising pressure by means of the labor organization, but by influencing the legislature. The workers demanded that working hours be legally fixed, and they used their votes toward that end. In a vague way the abolition of wage-slavery was demanded "through the power of the labor organizations" and the substitution for it of "a system of co-operation which will give the workingmen a fair share in the product of their labor." The Knights of Labor recognized that a thorough-

going improvement in the condition of the working people was not possible under existing capitalist rule, and declared: "So long as the present system prevails, so long will the attempt to maintain peace between those who sell labor and those who buy it be in vain." They were by no means clear, however, as to the right way toward the emancipation of labor, and they tried to conceal this lack of clearness by all sorts of formulas, as is shown by the ritual and ceremonies of the Order, which were nonsensical to a high degree. Not only did this repel sober and intelligent elements of the working class, but the secret methods which prevailed in the organization furnished an excellent ground for all kinds of humbugs and intriguers, who used the Order as an arena for their crooked schemes.

Notwithstanding all this, the Order of the Knights of Labor did fulfill a historic mission for that time—that is, for the beginning of the modern labor movement, when the capitalists had not yet become accustomed to the idea that the workingmen had a right to organize themselves. More especially did it offer to the unskilled workingmen, the laborers without special trades, and such workingmen as for various reasons had not before been organized, an opportunity to unite under its wings and brought them into connection with the general labor movement.

In general, secret organization, such as that of the Order of the Knights of Labor, is an obstacle to the healthy development of the labor movement. Under certain circumstances, however, this form of organization is unavoidable, especially at the beginning of organization in any trade, and until it is strong enough to lead an independent life in public. But a great part of the merit of the Knights of Labor consists in the fact that they stimulated organization in certain trades which without their aid would have remained unorganized for an indefinite time. It is also not to be disputed that they were the first to

organize the unskilled workers of America and that they were instrumental in bringing these in large masses into the ranks of organized labor.

3. RENEWED ORGANIZATION OF THE BREWERY WORKMEN.

We have seen that the brewery workers of New York after the defeat of 1881 could not be organized again. Although the workingmen in one brewery had taken the only road open to them, and had secretly formed an assembly of the Knights of Labor, anxiety for their daily bread and the fear of discharge was so great, that workingmen of the other breweries did not dare to follow their example, if indeed they knew of the Order of the Knights of Labor. And so the organization of this one assembly had but little significance and it passed out of existence after one year.

As an attempt had been made to form an open organization, and it had proved impossible to maintain such an organization under the existing conditions, it followed that the brewery workers would now attempt to get together in secret, and the Order of the Knights of Labor gave them this opportunity.

A few of the brewery workers, who had belonged to the union which was destroyed during the strike of 1881, kept in mind the necessity for organization in their trade and saw to it that in the labor press and in the existing workingmen's organizations the bad conditions in the breweries should be made known. Finally they appealed to the central body of the workingmen of New York, the Central Labor Union, and requested it to take in hand the task of organizing the brewery workers in order to put an end to the inhuman conditions under which these workingmen were forced to labor. The Central Labor Union took the matter up and representatives of the German organi-

zations especially took the part of the brewery workers. For some time a notice was published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, in which the brewery workers were urged to send their names and addresses to the organizing committee of the Central Labor Union. This was done with very little success. The fear of discharge was so great that only after spending several weeks in attempts at agitation by means of writing and word of mouth was the organizing committee able to call a meeting, naturally a secret one. This meeting was to take place in Friedrich's Hall, in Morrisania. When at last it assembled, there were present seven whole brewery workers, who had responded to the call for the organization of their trade. It was decided that a further meeting be called, which should take place in some downtown locality where no one need be afraid of meeting an acquaintance. This second meeting took place on August 10, 1884, at 213 Forsyth street, New York. This meeting was the birthplace of the Brewers' Union No. 1, of New York, which still exists today, and out of which developed the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America.

The union of brewery workers founded here was a local assembly of the Order of the Knights of Labor, and its official designation was Local Assembly 1,672, Knights of Labor. The following twelve persons founded this organization and became its first members: Jakob Huber, Samuel Gruhl, Ernst Seringer, Ernst Jennie, Peter Dannecker, Albert Sauer, Henry Binder, Jakob Geibich, Louis Steinbrenner, Charles Pommer, Louis Herbrand, and Christian Gerlach. The organization progressed but very, very slowly. They were compelled to carry on their agitation in the most cautious manner, and could invite only the most intimate friends to join. From August, 1884, until the beginning of 1885 the membership had increased only from twelve to twenty-five. In the preced-

ing November the secretary of the union had been betrayed by a fellow-workman and had been punished with discharge by the brewery bosses. In the spring of 1885, the discharge of several more members of the organization was effected by the brewery owner Peter Doelger. The matter was presented to the central body of the workmen, the Central Labor Union, and this body ordered a boycott on all beer from the above-named firm.

The labor movement was increasing in strength and there prevailed in all sections of the working class a strong excitement. The declaration of a boycott against the Doelger beer found a response in all circles of laboring men, even outside of New York. The labor organizations waged war on behalf of the brewery workers in the most effective manner, and the young organization of brewers, of course, did all in its power to win the fight. But the other side offered a desperate resistance, for the brewery capitalists felt the importance of the struggle which was to decide whether or not they were to remain as heretofore absolute rulers over the workingmen who sold them their labor-power. The Brewers' Association lent every conceivable assistance to Peter Doelger and supported him with all their economic power. The struggle was waged by both sides in the most energetic manner and lasted for seven months. Then the solidarity of the masses was victorious over the solidarity of the few, Labor triumphed over Capital. Peter Doelger accepted the conditions which the Central Labor Union imposed as a condition of discontinuing the boycott. He recognized the union of brewery workers, paid the cost of the struggle to the amount of \$1,000, and conceded to the brewers employed by him some further demands.

Under the pressure of the constantly growing labor movement and the fighting courage of the workingmen, the other brewery owners were compelled to recognize the

union and to deal with its workingmen. In the winter of 1885-'86 all the breweries of New York and the vicinity were again organized. Brewers', Beer Drivers', and Maltsters' Unions were formed. It was attempted to perpetuate the advantages that had already been gained by an agreement with the brewery capitalists. The men negotiated with their opponents as power against power and brought it to the point that the organization of brewery owners, the Brewers' Association, closed a contract with the labor union, good for one year, on April 16, 1886.

According to this contract, the brewery workers of New York and vicinity were promised an increase of wages to the amount of 50 per cent and a shortening of the working hours averaging three hours a day. Under this agreement the wage of the workers amounted to from \$15 to \$18 per week, the daily working hours were reduced to ten, and Sunday labor was entirely eliminated. The extent of this success can be fully realized when one considers that before the making of this contract the wage of the brewers was from \$40 to \$60 per month, with 12 to 18 hours' work per day, and Sunday labor of from two to five hours, not to mention further objectionable conditions in the breweries which were greatly modified by this contract.

It can be seen that this was an extraordinary victory which the brewery workers had gained through the solidarity of the working class and through the valiant assistance of the labor press. The workingmen of the brewery trades had suddenly emerged from conditions which were almost intolerable and now their conditions were at least nearly as good as those of their fellow-workers in other trades. From being serfs, they had become men. The boycott of 1885 and 1886 against the Doelger beer and the success with which it was carried out marked an important step in social progress and civili-

zation, not only for the 1,800 members of Union No. 1, but for all the brewery workers of America.

Under the influence of the powerfully expanding labor movement of 1886, the brewery capitalists lived up to the conditions of the contract and raised no difficulties when, after its expiration, the unions asked for its renewal for another year. Differences between the workingmen and the brewery owners, when they did occur, were brought before a joint board of arbitration, and the relation between workingmen and employers during these two years was a comparatively peaceful one.

As has been mentioned, the labor movement rose to great heights at this period. The brewery owners had recognized that the solidarity of the working class, when once awakened, was no empty phrase, and they had become acquainted with the effects of this solidarity.

In the meantime the Brewers' Union of New York had left the Order of the Knights of Labor, partly because they now felt strong enough to have an open organization without any secret work, and partly because all kinds of intrigues against them were carried on in the district organization to which the brewery workers belonged, for which they would not stand.

Thus, for instance, District Assembly No. 49 wanted to order a strike of Brewery Workers' Union No. 1 on behalf of the striking coal shovelers. The union, which owed its existence to the solidarity of other labor organizations, would undoubtedly have responded to this call for a sympathetic strike had not the District Assembly refused to order the strike for the engineers and firemen, who had to work together with the coal shovelers.

Brewers' Union No. 1 answered this action of the District Assembly by leaving the Order of the Knights of Labor, a step which was the foundation of the controversies which took place frequently between this organi-

zation and Local Assembly 8390, which was composed of workers in the ale and porter breweries and which had remained in the Order. This Local Assembly, however, later followed the example of Union No. 1, and it now belongs as Union No. 59 to the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

4. THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF 1886.

As in the lives of nations, so there are in the life of the labor movement certain periods in which there is shown an exceptional activity, a general excitement, an increase and progress all along the line. As in the political life of peoples there come revolutionary days, so there come times in the labor movement when everything goes forward at the double-quick, when a general joy of battle prevails, when circles are drawn into the movement which at other times could not be reached, and when masses begin to move which at other times lie inert under oppression. The most recent history of the labor movement in America can show several such periods. Such was the spring of 1872, when the city of New York became the center of struggles and movements of the working people such as have never since taken place on so large a scale. Then in the summer of 1877, the great strike of the railway workmen stirred all the workingmen of the entire country, and the bourgeoisie in certain places became frantic with alarm. Yet again, in the year 1886, what was almost an uprising of the whole working class of the United States took place.

We have already pointed out that hardly ever before did the waves of the labor movement rise so high as in the spring of 1886. In all the large centers of population throughout the Union, workingmen of the most diverse occupations and callings came into the labor movement, and new organizations sprang up by the hundreds. Al-

ready in the preceding fall a great increase in the membership of the Knights of Labor had taken place. In the spring of 1886 workingmen by the tens of thousands joined the Order weekly. The open trade-unions already in existence enlarged their membership in the same manner. In trades and occupations which had never before been organized strong unions now made their appearance. A breath of hope and militant ardor passed through the labor world. Bodies of workingmen who up to that time had led a veritable slave existence now united for common defense and endeavored to gain for themselves conditions worthy of human beings. Strikes and boycotts were everywhere daily occurrences. The spirit of solidarity became evident in all sections of the working class. The reduction of working hours, which at all times of active agitation in the labor world has been recognized as one of its chief aims, was generally urged and the demand for the eight-hour day became the watchword of the hour. In Chicago it came to deeds of violence and blood. Striking workingmen were shot down, and in answer to this murder of workingmen came the memorable bomb explosion in the Haymarket, for which several innocent men were afterward hanged. In New York the boycott was freely used by the labor organizations, and as a result of this the capitalistic judges punished the accused boycotters with inhumanly heavy terms of imprisonment. The working class answered with a call for independent political action—a call which found so great a response that in the fall of that year Henry George, the labor candidate for Mayor of the city of New York, received more than 60,000 votes.

Times of such economic upheaval and struggle bring the labor movement more forward than do years of quiet development. Although some of the proletarian organizations which make their appearance in such days may

prove to be like marsh plants which bloom for a single day and then die down, yet at these times thousands of seeds are also scattered which later grow up more vigorously and bear rich fruit.

The year 1886 was such a time. Not only did it strengthen a great number of labor organizations, but it called some into being which have remained permanent.

5. FOUNDATION OF BREWERS' UNIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

We have already seen what the year 1886 with its lively labor movement brought the brewers of New York. They owed to this movement not only their organization, but also the improved conditions which they had gained for themselves, and which were in sharp contrast to the almost inhuman conditions under which they were compelled to work up to that time.

Not only the brewery workers of New York, however, but also those outside of the city benefited by the agitations and movements of the year 1886.

With the exception of Cincinnati, the brewery workers of which city had formed a union some time before this, there was prior to 1886 no standing organization of brewers anywhere in the country. There had, of course, been struggles in various cities between the brewery owners and the brewery workmen, but these did not lead to the formation of any regular unions. Not until the general excitement of the year 1886 with its flood of labor movements stimulated everyone to agitation and organization, did the brewers of the inland states get together, and the victory which their New York comrades had won acted as a great stimulus.

The brewery workers of Baltimore were the first ones to follow Cincinnati and New York in the way of organization. In January, 1886, a union was called into being in

that city, which immediately succeeded, through the assistance of the general labor movement, in bringing the twenty-four breweries of that city and the vicinity under its control. In founding this union under these circumstances they even went so far as to require all the employees of the breweries, including the office staff, to join the union. This proved a mistaken policy, as to a very great extent these office employees had different interests from those of the brewery workers proper. After the organizing of the union the wages in the wash-house amounted to \$13 per week and in the other departments to \$15 per week. On May 6, 1887, the union proposed a contract to the employers in which they asked, in addition to the above wages, a ten-hour day, but the employers refused to sign this contract. A strike was declared, but only about one-third of the members took part in it. In spite of this the battle was won, and the union emerged from the conflict stronger than when it went in.

On March 14, 1886, the brewery workers of Chicago followed the example set by their comrades in the Eastern part of the country. For this date a mass-meeting of the brewery workers of Chicago was called for the purpose of organization. It was decided to organize the "Beer Brewers' and Maltsters' Union No. 1." On the first day 180 members signed their names to the lists. A second meeting raised the membership to 336.

Presently a contract was worked out which contained the demands of the workers and this was presented to the employers. It was demanded that wages be increased from \$35 per month to \$50 and \$60, and that the working time be reduced from sixteen to ten hours per day. The contract was signed by the brewery owners. However, the negotiations with the commission malt houses proved more difficult. A contract was submitted to the owners of these establishments also, but they refused to sign it, and their

workers declared a strike on October 11, without, however, succeeding in gaining their demands.

Only eight days later than in Chicago a brewery workers' organization was formed in Newark. The condition of the brewery workers here was a particularly bad one. On weekdays the daily work often amounted to from fifteen to eighteen hours, and to this was added frequently Sunday labor of about ten hours, so that the brewers hardly ever had an hour to themselves. Besides this, the monthly wage of the skilled brewers was only \$40 per month and that of the unskilled hands correspondingly less.

In Newark as in New York the organization of the brewery workers was taken in hand by the Knights of Labor. First they organized the employees of the Geier Brewery, which is now known as the Home Brewery, into the "Enterprise Assembly" of the Order, and on March 21, 1886, a general meeting of the brewery workers of Newark was called and Brewers' Union No. 2 was formed, which is still in existence.

The young organization soon began to spread, and within a short time it took in all the workers in its branch from Newark, Elizabeth, Paterson, and New Brunswick, representing a total membership of 350 men. The result of this organization was that it reduced the working time in the breweries to ten hours a day, did away entirely with Sunday labor, and increased wages from 30 to 50 per cent.

In this same month of March, in the year 1886, a Brewery Workers' Union was formed in St. Louis. About the condition of the brewers there, it is reported as follows:

"The working hours varied from twelve to sixteen hours an even more daily, from two or three o'clock in the morning until seven or eight o'clock at night, and sometimes even longer. On Sundays in some cases the work was even harder than on weekdays, for in order to get a few free hours, one had to work very hard, and there was no question of extra remuneration."

On March 26, 1886, the Central Labor Union of St. Louis called a mass-meeting of the brewery workers of that city, which was very well attended. It organized itself into the "Gambrinus Assembly," No. 7503, of the Knights of Labor, and within a week the greater part of the brewery workers of the city belonged to the organization. The brewery owners did not even wait until the workers made their demands, but at once introduced the ten-hour day "voluntarily." In addition to this, the brewery capitalists would only grant the freedom of the men to seek lodging and board where they chose, and when the union did not content itself with this the owners threatened a lockout. This was responded to by the workers with a strike declaration on September 2, 1886. The number of striking workmen was 678. After a struggle that lasted four and a half months, the workmen won in so far that their organization was recognized, but the success was not permanent, and several attempts to improve conditions by means of a contract failed.

In the beginning of May, 1886, the brewery workers of Philadelphia followed the example of the other large cities. Here it was the United German Trades which took the initiative for the organization of the brewers. They induced the brewery owners to sign a contract which would give the workers an increase of \$3 to \$6 per week and promised several other improvements. However, in the beginning of December the brewery capitalists declared that they would no longer be bound by their contract, which had by no means expired, and would pay no attention to its provisions. At the same time they announced a wage reduction of \$3 a week and demanded that the workingmen leave the Knights of Labor. The workingmen responded to this challenge with a cessation of work, which was declared at the end of December. The strike was a failure, which was caused to a very large extent by

the intrigues in the Knights of Labor. The young organization was very much weakened and could not keep together. The unmarried brewers left the city and the married ones had to look for work in other vocations. The intrigues against the strikers in the Order of the Knights of Labor caused 47 men to leave the Order. An attempt was made to bring the men together again and a short revival took place, but it did not last long. In the last meeting of the union, which was attended by seven whole members, the dissolution of the union was decided upon.

It is of importance to note in regard to the value of the union that most of the brewery owners of Philadelphia, immediately after the dissolution of the union, tried to reduce the wages of the workmen.

In Michigan also, at Detroit, the brewery workers' organization took firm root at about this time. Here the Brewers' and Maltsters' Union was organized in July, 1886. Eighty members joined immediately, and when the brewery owners refused to recognize the organization of their workingmen the new trade-union was compelled to go into a violent struggle, which ended after four months' duration with a victory for the workingmen. In November of the same year the first contract between brewery owners and brewery workmen was closed. The ten-hour day put an end to the long working hours, and wages were fixed at from \$12 to \$13 a week.

In Buffalo the first brewery workers' union was organized on September 25, 1886, but at the start only 21 members joined. On May 1 of the following year, the young organization submitted to the brewery owners a first contract, which called for a shortening of working hours and an increase of wages. This first contract, which was in force until May 1 of the following year, was signed by the brewery owners, and as all the brewery workers in Buffalo

had in the meantime joined the union, it was in effect for all the breweries of the city and its vicinity.

In Cincinnati, where, as we have seen, a union of brewery workers was called into life as early as 1879, without ever gaining greatly in strength, the growth of the general labor movement brought almost the entire brewery working population of the city into the ranks of the union. The ten-hour day was almost completely introduced. The union decided in May, 1886, to join the Order of the Knights of Labor as Gambrinus Assembly No. 7571, but left the Order again in the following year. An entire agreement with the brewery owners was not yet reached at that time in Cincinnati, and Sunday work especially continued as heretofore.

In the spring of 1887, Albany joined the ranks of organized brewery workers, and not only the actual brewers, but also the beer-wagon drivers, were organized into one union. However, these two organizations soon split up. By the contract which was signed by the brewery owners on May 31, 1887, the working time was fixed at eleven hours for the summer and ten hours for the winter, and the wages at \$12, \$14, and \$16 per week.

In San Francisco, Cal., it came to a strike in May, 1887, on account of non-recognition of the union. With the exception of one small establishment, all the breweries of the city were involved in this fight. A very resolute boycott, which was supported by the entire body of organized workingmen of the Pacific Coast, and even extended as far as Australia, finally forced the brewery owners to give in, and this they did on July 22, 1887.

In the meantime, brewery workers' unions had been founded in other places, most of which first saw the light of the world amidst all kinds of struggles. Among the larger places there are to be mentioned Cleveland, Milwaukee, New Haven, and Boston, in which cities the

brewery workers waged an organized battle for the betterment of their condition. In Belleville, Ill., also, as well as in Grand Rapids, in Troy and Syracuse, and finally in Bridgeport, Conn., and in Fargo, Dakota, brewery workers' unions had been formed.

With the organizing of the Union in Columbus, Ohio, in October, 1887, closes the list of brewery workers' organizations which were formed during these two years of rapid advancement of the American labor movement. At first it had success, because most of the brewery workers of the city joined it. The brewery owners promised on March 1, 1888, that they would introduce the ten-hour day, but it did not come to that. Already a threatening storm approached, which was soon to sweep over the head of the yet young organization, and which was to bring in its wake struggles and destruction and misery and need for many years for hundreds of their members, and which brought the organization almost to the verge of destruction.

Before we begin with the description of these stormy times, we shall have to consider the federation which had been formed in the meantime and which kept the individual brewery unions together; namely, the central organization which united all the brewery workers' unions of the country into a national union.

CHAPTER IV.

The Foundation of the United Brewery Workmen and the First Victories.

1. THE FIRST CONVENTION.

A NATIONAL union of all the brewery workers of the United States was agitated as early as 1880. This agitation could not meet with any success, because at that time hardly a beginning had been made in the formation of organizations of this category, and because, in addition to this, the local resistance of the brewery owners against the organization of their workmen had to be overcome before the struggle could assume a national aspect along the whole line.

This first proposal, originated in Cincinnati, came from the brewery workers' union organized there in December, 1879. In a circular issued in June, 1880, the brewery workers of the United States were called upon to organize and to form a union which would extend over the whole of the United States. Although a few favorable answers were received to this circular, no further steps were taken toward carrying the plan into effect. The time was not yet ripe for a general organization of the brewery workers of the nation.

The rapid development of the general labor movement in the middle of the eighties brought the favorable occasion for the brewery workers. The appearance of a number of local unions necessarily led to the idea of endeavoring to form a closer connection among these unions in order that they might support each other in the struggle and further their common interests.

The strongest union of the brewers in the country, the New York Union, took this matter in hand in the

spring of 1886. They put themselves into communication with the other brewery workers' unions of the country and submitted the matter to them. It was agreed to hold a convention of all brewery workers' organizations of the country in Chicago, where shortly before a local brewery workers' union had been formed. After several delays and postponements, the day for the opening of the convention was finally fixed. One day before the delegates were to leave for the convention, they received word that the secretary of the Chicago union had again postponed the convention. Then it was agreed to hold the convention in Baltimore, and the body of delegates met there, in Neidhart's Hall, on August 29, 1886, and here the national union of the brewery workmen of the United States was created.

Only five unions had sent delegates to this first convention of the brewers; namely, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Baltimore. The union in St. Louis, where a struggle was threatening, instructed the New York delegates to represent them. The organizations of Chicago, Cincinnati, and Cleveland were not represented. The necessity for combined organization of the workers of the trade for the entire country was not yet recognized everywhere. This accounts for the lukewarm reception of these endeavors which came from New York.

In a four days' session, which was presided over by Adolf Biswanger, of Baltimore, the necessary work was accomplished. It was decided to form an organization which was to bear the name of "National Union of the Brewers of the United States." They discussed the draft of a constitution which had been worked out by the New York union and submitted to the convention. The purpose of the union was defined as follows in the constitution as adopted: "The Union proposes the advancement of the material and intellectual welfare of the brewers of

the country: (1) Through organization; (2) Through enlightenment by word and writing; (3) Through a reduction of the working hours and an increase of wages; (4) Through the preferment of practical and experienced brewers in the performance of the work." It was further decided that the National Executive should consist of seven members, who must be practical and experienced brewers, elected from the local union of the place where the National Union had its headquarters. The dues were fixed at 10 cents per month per member.

The seat of the National Executive was placed in New York, and it was decided that five New York and two Newark members should belong to it. Louis Herbrand, secretary of the New York union, who had deserved well by the work he had done for the forming of this organization, was elected National Secretary and a salary of \$25 per week was voted to him.

Another point is of interest which was brought up at this first convention of brewery workers, and which throws some light upon the prevailing opinions in the local circles of the organization.

The use of the boycott, which at the beginning of the brewery workers' movement was its strongest weapon against the brewery capitalists, often brought with it this disadvantage, that in certain places where the boycott was declared no union beer was to be had, so that boycotting workingmen had to refrain entirely from drinking beer if they wanted to aid the struggling brewery workers. It stands to reason that it often happened that the boycott duty was neglected. It was thought that this evil could be remedied if co-operative breweries were at hand. From these beer could be sent to the places in which the boycott prevailed. This matter was brought before the convention at Baltimore, and it was decided that each delegate should acquaint his union with this idea and that the

establishment of such co-operative breweries should be taken into consideration. The secretaries of the local unions were to report to the National Secretary how the matter progressed. This matter was allowed to drop, as was reported in the second convention of the organization. They recognized, undoubtedly, that with so weak an organization it was almost impossible to compete with the rich brewery capitalists on their own field.

The association of brewery workmen which was thus called into life had a membership of 2,700. Of this number, 1,700 belonged to New York, 380 to Philadelphia, 270 to Newark, 200 to Baltimore, and 175 to Detroit. In the course of the next few months, in the year 1886, five additional unions joined the National Union—St. Louis, with 423 members, Buffalo with 90, Boston with 78, Milwaukee with 807, and Grand Rapids with 55 members—so that, by January, 1887, four months after its foundation, the National Union counted over 4,000 members.

2. THE FOUNDING OF THE BREWERS' JOURNAL.

Although the New York brewers had in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* a local press organ which represented their interests unswervingly, the opinion soon arose that a craft organ of its own would be of great service to the organization. It is even very likely that the service which the *Volkszeitung* rendered to the organized brewery workers drew their attention to the importance of a labor press and confirmed their resolve to establish, simultaneously with the founding of the National Union, a craft organ for the brewery workmen which would serve to impress the importance of organization upon the minds of those of their fellow-workmen who still stood aloof from the union and would also be useful in bringing the members into closer touch with each other.

At the convention in Baltimore the matter was brought

up by Charles Pommer, a delegate from the New York union. He proposed the establishment of a national craft paper of the brewery workers, and after discussion of this proposition it was decided to found "a craft paper of the National Union of Brewers in the United States."

The new paper was to be the property of the National Union and was to be published in New York. It was decided that it should be "conducted in an unpartisan manner in the labor movement"—whatever that might mean. In order to make possible the establishment of this paper, the New York union lent \$300 to the National Union. The editorial work of the organ was entrusted to the National Secretary of the Union, Louis Herbrand.

The first number of the proposed paper appeared on October 2, 1886, under the title "*Brauer-Zeitung*, craft paper of the Brewers of the United States." It contained a statement from the National Executive of the Union which outlined the following policy for the new organ:

"1. Our organ, through truthful reports of the existing evils under which the workers have suffered so long, will furnish a justification for our efforts at organization and show the necessity of energetically continuing them.

"2. This organ will give every brewery worker in the country an opportunity to inform himself in regard to our organization and its aims.

"3. It will form a connecting link among all the fellow-workmen of the trade.

"4. It will whenever possible prevent misunderstandings among our large membership, and, in case such should occur, will explain them and straighten them out.

"5. It will, of course, stand in a decent but determined manner for its own and the general labor interests.

"6. It will further do its best to prevent unnecessary disputes with employers, but if such should arise the organ of the Union will publish our complaints before the employers and the public in a simple and business-like manner, without entering into personal animosities, and will defend our standpoint against all malicious or ignorant misrepresentations.

"7. The *Brauer-Zeitung* will under all circumstances stand for an honest cleansing of our political life by supporting the reformative endeavors of the labor party in city and country, and will fight with all its energy against the corrupt old parties.

"This, on the whole, is the course which we shall fearlessly follow in editing the *Brauer-Zeitung* and upon which we shall fearlessly persist.

"We expect thereby not only to strengthen our organization, but to assure peace between workingmen and employers, and through that to advance the prosperity of our entire trade."

The *Brauer-Zeitung* was from the start a strong weapon in the hands of the workingmen whose interests it endeavored to represent, and it contributed greatly to the rapid expansion of the newly-formed organization. At the end of the first year the new organ already had a capital of \$4,000. At the second convention it was resolved that every local union should see to it that at least half its members subscribed for the paper; if not, the local union was to pay the difference out of its treasury. The subscription price was fixed at \$2 a year.

The hope which the brewery workmen entertained, when they established the paper, of obtaining from it certain definite benefits for their organization, has been fully realized. The *Brauer-Zeitung* has proved itself to be a rusty weapon in the struggles of the brewery workers.

3. THE CONVENTION IN DETROIT.

The second convention of the National Union of Brewers opened on September 11, 1887, at Detroit. The number of delegates had increased from the ten who attended the convention at Baltimore in the previous year to thirty-three, and the number of organizations had risen from six to eighteen.

The sessions lasted for five days, and were presided over by Richard Schlagintweit. The National Secretary reported that the number of local unions affiliated with

the organization had increased since the last convention to 21, and that the membership now consisted of 6,000 men. In the spring of the year 1887 the brewery workmen's organizations of Syracuse, Cincinnati, Troy, New Haven, Albany, and San Francisco had joined the National Union. In the summer of the same year there followed Cleveland, Chicago, Fargo (in Dakota), Bridgeport, and Belleville. But Union No. 1 of New York, with its 1,830 members, still remained the strongest. The next in strength were Milwaukee with 811 members, Cincinnati with 678, Chicago with 529, and St. Louis with 442. The expenses of the organization during the first year amounted to almost \$5,000, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$1,800. This, however, represents but a small part of the sums the brewers raised in the first year of their national organization for agitation and struggles. Large sums had been raised for the support of the strikers in Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Boston. For the strike in Philadelphia alone there was raised in New York and vicinity \$16,700, of which over \$13,000 was contributed by Union No. 1. This was a tremendous achievement when one considers the youth of the organization and the inexperienced element of which it was composed.

The reports of the individual unions which were submitted at the convention showed that the organization was in good condition throughout, with the exception of a few towns where the brewery capitalists had succeeded in weakening the unions and in almost destroying them. Such had been the case in Boston and Philadelphia, while in the other places where brewery workers' unions existed they were in favorable condition.

The National Secretary of the organization in his report before the convention emphasized the craft spirit by pointing out that the organization had among others the

task to guard "the noble trade of the brewer's craft" so that "the man who had learned his trade" would not be "reduced to a factory worker" by the "admission of elements who had never before seen a brewery." At the same time, by pointing out the necessity of admitting brewers who were not members of the "craft" to the organization, he proved that the craft spirit could not stop the development of the industry.

The National Secretary proposed namely a union of all the trades employed in breweries, and pointed out that the beer-drivers, the coopers, engineers, firemen, and maltsters would have to be drawn into the organization if it were to have the proper foundation.

The convention set aside a day for the discussion of this question, and this session was to be attended by delegates of these trade branches so far as these were present. Several unions of beer-drivers, brewery engineers, firemen, and maltsters were present at this council. They came to an agreement and decided to extend the organization to include the branches named above and to change the name to "National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States." In order to make possible a unified co-operation, it was decided that in each city all these branches were to unite into a local organization, and that this organization was to elect a local executive in order to settle the internal affairs of the organization on the spot.

In regard to the coopers, with whom negotiations had been put on foot in regard to a union of forces, it was decided that the National Coopers' Union was to form a stronger organization, to which end the brewers would assist them. The coopers were for the present to work for an introduction of strict union shops and for a general union label for their wares, and this label was to be recognized by the National Union of Brewery Workmen. In return for this the Coopers' Union was to bind itself to

support the brewers in the event of struggles. In regard to the brewery coopers, it was decided that it would be advisable for them to join the local unions of the brewery workmen.

In the Order of the Knights of Labor, to which, as we know, a part of the brewers' unions still belonged, there had developed latterly an inclination towards the furthering of the Prohibitionist movement. The General Master Workman of the Order, T. V. Powderly, in his addresses had declared himself in favor of prohibition.

The convention adopted resolutions declaring itself against these efforts for prohibition and against the General Executive and the Order itself. In these resolutions it was pointed out that "the passing of temperance laws would endanger the existence of thousands of brewery workers and their families"; that "it would cause the government to lose a revenue of millions of dollars annually"; that "the Order of the Knights of Labor did not support us in any way"; that "in our struggle with capital we cannot show a single victory which was due to the assistance of the Knights of Labor." Therefore, T. V. Powderly was reproved on behalf of the convention and it was decided not to support any candidate, no matter of which party, if he had spoken in public in favor of prohibition.

In spite of this resolution, several local unions declared that they were not yet in a position to turn their backs upon the Knights of Labor.

In a further resolution the convention declared itself against the Prohibition party and its efforts to forbid by law the sale of beer. Laws of this kind were declared "unconstitutional and contrary to the rights and privileges of free citizens of a free country." It was also decided to see to it that the members of the organization should take out their citizens' papers "in order to assist in the social and political reform of our adopted fatherland." The

necessity of acquiring citizenship was emphasized in a special motion which was to the effect that every member of the organization had to be in possession of citizens' papers. In the constitution the political attitude of the Union was expressed in the statement that the United Brewery Workmen proposed to promote the welfare of its members also "through active participation in the political movements of the country."

Among the resolutions passed at the convention in Detroit, the one on behalf of the convicted Anarchists in Chicago is to be noted. In this resolution it was pointed out that these persons now in prison did only what they were entitled to do under the Constitution, "to enlighten the working population in regard to its condition and to organize it." They bound themselves to assist the convicted men morally and financially, and looked to the Supreme Court of the United States for an appeal in favor of the accused.

Among the other conclusions reached at this second convention of the brewery workers of America, the following are noteworthy: That saloonkeepers were not to be members of the organization, and that foremen in breweries were not to be permitted to join. Another resolution was directed against the evil of "blacklists" on the part of the employers, and a special case was taken up—that of the Secretary of the Beer Drivers' Union in Philadelphia, John Rapp, who could not get work anywhere in his home city. Owing to the change in the organization, the composition of the National Executive was to be in future: Five brewers, two drivers, two maltsters, one engineer, and one fireman.

A proposition to introduce a label for union beer, which was made by a delegate from the Philadelphia local, was defeated, and a proposition to introduce life insurance in

the union was considered "ahead of the times" and was not discussed at all.

The time was to come soon when the question was not one of life insurance for the individual members, but of life and existence for the organization. Threatening clouds arose on the firmament of the young organization.

4. ACHIEVEMENTS.

When one compares the condition of the brewery workmen of America at the beginning of the year 1888 with that under which they had worked but one or two years before, one is compelled to say that hardly ever has such a tremendous change taken place in the history of any trade in so short a time.

In all the larger places throughout the United States there now existed organizations of brewery workmen which in many cases included all the workingmen in the trade in their particular town. These unions had commanded the respect not only of the organized labor world, but also of the capitalists of the trade, from whom they had won recognition. The inhuman conditions under which the brewery workmen had lived prior to their organization had given place to conditions which compared favorably with the general condition of the working class as a whole. The excessively long working hours had been reduced by a third or even more. The burden of heavy work which had formerly bent the back of the brewery workman in a few years and crippled his limbs and made his body clumsy and awkward, had been considerably lightened. He had come to be recognized as a human being, and the unworthy treatment which had been accorded to him before had given way to a more humane relationship. His wages had been increased, and on account of the reduction of the working hours he had some free time, which gave him an opportunity to develop his

mind. The stagnation in which the brewery workman had often been intentionally kept by the brewery capitalists and the dullness and exhaustion which his heavy work had brought with it, had now been replaced by a new intellectual life. In brewery circles, too, the questions of the hour were beginning to be intelligently discussed. Especially did they begin to pay attention to the general aspirations of the working class. They began to feel that they were a part of the working class and of its international movement, which was carrying on the struggle for a new and better world.

The separate organizations of the brewery workmen had been brought together into one association, which was growing rapidly. This organization for mutual support in the struggle now extended over the whole country, from one ocean to the other. Its membership already exceeded six thousand men, and they had just decided to include not only the brewery workmen proper, but to gather all the workers who were in any way connected with the trade under one banner. In a large number of places the workmen's organization had forced the proud and rich and therefore powerful brewery lords to grant them the conditions they asked for and to bind themselves by contract for a considerable time. In the *Brauer-Zeitung* the brewery workmen had an organ which represented their interests before the public and enlightened public opinion as to the evils of the trade and the extent of the exploitation of the workingmen and the conditions in the various breweries. The brewery workmen had benefited from a vigorous labor movement which extended to all parts of the country. Whenever a struggle broke out in the brewery trade, organized labor immediately took the part of the brewery workmen and saw to it that the beer in question was boycotted. The brewery workmen had achieved great advantages through their own organization

and through the solidarity of the working class, which was at its height during the years 1886 and 1887. Their entire condition was revolutionized. In every respect they had risen from the level of slaves or serfs to that of men.

So far as this difference in the condition of the brewery workmen can be expressed in figures, it is exhibited in a table which was submitted to the convention at Detroit by the National Secretary of the organization. This table is a document in the history of civilization, giving information which demonstrates the value of organization among workingmen and shows more clearly than speeches and writings the civilizing value of the labor movement in general; it may be used by future historians as a proof of the significance of the labor movement in the progress of humanity.

This table illustrates the wages and working conditions of the brewery workmen of America *before* and *after* organization.

These figures show the improvement of the material condition of the brewery workmen which they had achieved through organization within one or two years. This improvement in the condition of the workingmen, however, meant a decrease in the profits of the capitalists in the brewing industry. Little wonder, then, that they did not look with pleasure upon the process which made men out of their serfs.

BEFORE ORGANIZATION.				AFTER ORGANIZATION				
Cities	Wages	Hours of Labor Per Day	Sunday Labor in Hours	Wages	Hours of Labor Per Day	Sunday Labor in Hours	Increase of Wages	Reduction of Working Hours
							Daily	Sunday
New York, N. Y.	\$40-60 per mo.	14-18	Several	\$15-18 per wk.	10 hrs.	2 hrs.*	\$5	4-8 hrs. 3-5 hrs.
Newark, N. J.	40-60 " "	14-18	4-6	15-18 " "	10 "	2 hrs.	5	4 " 3-5 "
Detroit, Mich.	9-10 per wk.	14	5	12-15 " "	10 "	1 1/4 hrs.	5	4 " 3-5 "
Boston, Mass.	12-15 " "	11-12	4-6	13-18 " "	10 "	—	3	—
Philadelphia, Pa.	48-55 per mo.	14-16	4-6	14-17 " "	11 "	—	3-5	—
St. Louis, Mo.	45-65 " "	12-15	4-5	13-15 " "	10 "	3 hrs.	None	—
Buffalo, N. Y.	9-15 per wk.	12-15	5-7	12-16 " "	10 "	—	2-4	1-2 hrs.
Baltimore, Md.	8-14 " "	16-18	6-8	12-18 " "	10 "	2 hrs.	4-6	4-6 "
Milwaukee, Wis.	40-50 per mo.	14	6	50-60 per mo.	10 "	—	4-5	4 " 6 "
Grand Rapids, Mich.	30-45 " "	12-16	4-5	10-13 per wk.	10 "	2 hrs.	3-6	2-3 "
Syracuse, N. Y.	35-45 " "	14-15	4-5	11-14 " "	10 "	2 "	2-5	2-3 "
Cincinnati, O.	45-60 " "	12-14	6-8	60-70 per mo.	9 3/4 "	3 "	4-5	3-5 "
Troy, N. Y.	9-12 per wk.	14	6	12-15 per wk.	11 "	2 "	3	4 " 4 "
New Haven, Conn.	10-14 " "	14-15	6-8	13-16 " "	10 "	2 "	3-6	4-5 " 4-6 "
Albany, N. Y.	40-55 per mo.	12	6-7	12-14 " "	11 "	2 "	2-4	1 " 4-5 "
San Francisco, Cal.	50-60 " "	10-14	2-9	14-16 " "	10 "	3 "	2-4	3-6 "
Cleveland, O.	40-55 " "	15-18	5-8	55-65 per mo.	10 "	3 "	4-5	5-8 " 2-5 "
Chicago, Ill.	45-55 " "	12	6	60-65 " "	10 "	4 "	5	2 " 2 "
Fargo, N. D.	50-60 " "	13	2	40-55 " "	11 "	2 "	None	2 " None
Bridgeport, Conn.	50-60 " "	11-16	5-6	13-17 per wk.	10 "	2 "	3-5	4-6 " 3-4 "
Belleville, Ill.	35-40 " "	12-14	5-7	50-60 per mo.	10 "	3-4 hrs.	4-5	2-4 " 2-3 "

* Double pay.

CHAPTER V.

The Struggle of 1888.

1. THE BREWERY CAPITALISTS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

IN his report to the convention at Baltimore, the Secretary of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen declared: "On the whole, I am convinced that an overwhelming majority of our employers is neither blind nor deaf to the proceedings of the labor movement of the present time, and especially in our organization. They know as well as we ourselves that the days of slavery are past, that the conditions under which they might exploit the last particle of strength from the marrow of a workingmen are over, and they are clever enough to know that in the face of our strong organization they have to keep peace and abide by their contracts."

The opinion of the National Secretary was not a correct one. The advantages which the workingmen had gained and the diminution of profits that the brewery capitalists had thereby suffered was so great that it was inevitable that the capitalists would try to turn the victory that the men had gained into a defeat. They only bided their time.

In one respect, however, the National Secretary of the Brewery Workmen was right. The brewery owners were "not blind nor deaf to the proceedings in the labor movement." They had been too much impressed by the power of united action on the part of the workingmen not to observe that toward the end of 1887 and in 1888 a general weakening in the labor movement took place. The high waves of the movement of 1886 and 1887 began to subside. The number of struggles and the fighting ardor of the combatants decreased. A general reaction set in, which filled the brewery capitalists with new hope. They knew

only too well that a considerable part of the successes of the workingmen was due to the solidarity of the mass of organized labor. A weakening of the general labor movement, such as became noticeable at the end of 1887 and the beginning of 1888, meant also a weakening of the brewery workers' organization, although up to then this organization had continued to flourish. So the plan ripened in the minds of the brewery capitalists to re-establish the old conditions in the trade and to destroy the organization of their workers.

Of course, this purpose was not publicly announced. The brewery owners especially had to take great consideration in regard to public opinion. They could not possibly declare openly their intention to bring back the inhuman conditions in their trade which had prevailed prior to the organization of the workingmen. These conditions were in too great contrast to the millions in the possession of these brewery princes, who a few decades ago had not stood much higher in the social scale than the commonest laborers in the trade. Therefore they had to act carefully, had to attempt to convince public opinion that the workmen were "a bad lot"; had to cast suspicion upon them, put their leaders and officials in a bad light, and make the attempt to give the appearance that they, the brewery princes, were the innocent victims of unreasonable extortion.

As we already know, an organization of brewery owners was started at the beginning of the sixties, and its connections extended over the whole country. When, in the spring of 1886, the waves of the labor movement began to rise, and when the brewery workmen of the United States were aroused, the national organization of brewery owners decided immediately upon the position they were going to take. The matter was brought up at a meeting of the trustees of the Brewers' Association which took

place in St. Louis in 1886. Originally, this meeting was to have been held in San Francisco, but the rapid rise of the labor movement drove the brewery capitalists to quick action, and the meeting was called for the more centrally located city of St. Louis.

At this meeting, trusted representatives of the brewery bosses of the country deliberated over the situation. It was pointed out that in order "to protect themselves against the unjustified encroachments of organized labor upon the rights of the employer" it was necessary to unite for mutual protection; that the competition of the brewers among each other was a strong weapon against each brewer; and they reached the decision that no member of the Brewers' Association should sell beer, porter, or ale to any of the customers of another member who was involved in a strike, boycott, or other labor dispute. It deserves to be pointed out that this decision was reached and that they talked of "unjustified encroachment of organized labor upon the rights of the employer" at a time when in most of the breweries of the country the eighteen-hour day prevailed, with a wage of \$10 a week.

In the fall of the same year the convention of the Brewers' Association was held in Niagara, and here the resolution drawn up by the trustees in St. Louis was adopted. In his report, the President of the Association, Miles of New York, went into details regarding the labor movement in the trade. He drew attention to the fact that a large part of the delegates present had formerly also been workingmen, that it was not so long since they, too, had stood at the mash-tub or the boiling kettle, when they themselves were active in the work of brewing. They were justly proud of the high position to which they had risen as a result of their industry and thrift and perseverance. He wished he could drive the truth into the heads of the brewery workmen that the same road was

open to them, that the steps of the ladder which they had to climb were industry, thrift, and perseverance. These virtues, if intelligently applied, would in due time bring them to the higher level of the employer. The hypocritical cant of this declaration is all the more emphasized by the assertion that the average wages of the brewery workmen—remember, it was 1886—were higher than in almost any other industry, and that the majority of the brewery owners took a personal interest in the welfare of their workmen, “as was not always the case in the establishments of other industries.”

Nevertheless, Miles recommended—it was at the time when the general labor movement was at its greatest height—that the rights of the workingmen should be duly considered, and “as far as the nature of the business permitted” the working hours should be kept “within reasonable limits” at a “corresponding remuneration.” Apart from this, every encroachment upon the rights of the employer by the labor organizations must be resisted. No interference with personal rights in a country “which pretended to be the freest in the world” could be tolerated. The workingmen as well as the employers should respect the rights of the employer to deal individually with the laborers.” When this right fails, the personal liberty of both parties is lost.”

For the present, the brewery princes preferred to do without “personal liberty” and “individual rights” in a country “which pretended to be the freest in the world,” rather than to risk a battle with the entire working class of the country, which had at that time come into movement. The convention of 1886 decided to appoint a committee which should investigate the labor question and report at the next convention.

This next convention was held at Baltimore in May, 1887, and the report of this committee on labor was incor-

porated in the report of the trustees of the Association. It was there stated that the labor question continued to be a source of anxiety for the brewery owners. It was natural that the workingmen should make use of the advantages of organization; perhaps it was natural even "that insidious and conscienceless persons should try to control the labor organizations and use them for the promulgation of socialistic doctrines and for their own selfish ends, at the expense of the workingmen." In the long run, however, said the report, the intelligent and thinking workingmen would learn to distrust these leaders who continually seek to stir up strife between workers and employers and "squander the hard-earned savings of the toilers in ill-advised and unnecessary strikes and boycotts."

On the whole, the tone of the brewery owners at this convention in regard to the labor movement was more decided and showed more animosity than was the case the previous year at Niagara. They spoke of the "insidious and selfish agitators," and of the "personal liberty which is dearer than life itself and which must be saved not only for themselves, but for their thousands of workingmen from the tyranny of the labor unions."

The brewery kings began to see their way clear. They observed sooner than did their workingmen the decline of the general labor movement, and for the present they considered themselves prepared to strike a blow against their own workingmen. They only waited for a favorable opportunity. They knew that the time would come.

2. THE OUTBREAK OF THE STRUGGLE IN MILWAUKEE.

The opportunity for which the brewery owners longed, the opportunity to take up with some show of reason the fight against the organization of their workingmen, was to show itself soon.

In September, 1887, the second convention of the United Brewery Workmen took place, and at this convention, among others, the maltsters joined the National Union. In Milwaukee those brewery owners who prepared their own malt had granted the demands of the malt workers, while the so-called commission malthouses, which produced malt for sale, refused to accede to the demands of their workingmen.

The maltsters demanded a wage of \$60 a month, while their employers would give them only \$55. The workingmen could not give in, because the malt workers employed in the breweries which produced their own malt received \$75. If the workers in the malthouses accepted a contract for \$55 the brewers would certainly seize the opportunity to reduce the wages of their maltsters, and the labor organization could not have done very much in this matter, as the maltsters in the commission houses were actually working much cheaper than those in the breweries. Besides, the brewery owners had already complained that they paid higher wages to their maltsters than did the commission maltsters. F. Pabst, especially, the president of the Philip Best Brewing Company, had threatened that he would reduce the wages of his maltsters if the commission malthouses did not raise the wages of their men, and several brewers had expressed themselves openly that the wages in the commission houses would have to be "screwed up."

The negotiations with the commission malthouses did not lead to any result, and on November 8 the maltsters in these establishments quit work. The striking malt workers, who were connected with the Brewery Workmen's Union, demanded that the brewery workers refuse to handle malt from the commission malthouses. These workingmen attempted to make the brewery owners refuse to buy malt at the commission houses, but this was refused, and the strike broke out in three small breweries.

In the meantime several labor organizations had declared a boycott on Milwaukee beer. At a ball which the brewery workers held in Milwaukee, the employers report, no Milwaukee beer was drunk, but the beverage was brought from Chicago. The brewery owners of Milwaukee were enraged over this. "Get out of the union or get out of our breweries," was now their word to the men. Although they had a contract with their workingmen which was not to expire till the first of May of the next year, they declared on November 25 that they would no longer recognize the union and would deal individually with their people. That is, they broke their contract. A general boycott of Milwaukee beer throughout the United States was the consequence, and this action was responded to by the brewery owners of Milwaukee with a general lock-out. The 400 brewery workmen of the ten breweries of Milwaukee were thrown upon the streets.

The organized workingmen of Milwaukee, especially the local Knights of Labor, energetically took up the fight against Milwaukee beer. At a convention of the Federation of Labor, which was held at Baltimore in the middle of December, 1887, the fight against Milwaukee beer was emphatically declared, and all labor organizations of the country were called upon to refrain from using it.

The Executive of the Brewery Workmen's Union, of course, did all in its power to make known these declarations of labor against Milwaukee beer, and the brewery owners of that city felt the effect. Their sale decreased enormously.

3. THE BREWERS' POOL IN NEW YORK.

The events in Milwaukee gave the United States Brewers' Association the desired opportunity to begin the long-sought fight against the organization of their workmen throughout the country.

The trustees of the Brewers' Association called a conference of all brewery owners' associations in the country to be held in New York on December 14, 1887, whose proceedings and resolutions were to be held secret for the present. Two months later, about the middle of February, 1888, a second conference was held at Arion Hall, New York. At both conferences the occurrences in Milwaukee, the boycott, and the whole labor question in so far as it concerned the brewing industry were considered, and it was decided that nothing of the proceedings should be made public.

At these conferences the plan of campaign against the brewery workmen was drawn up. For the city of New York and its vicinity the brewery owners had already prepared themselves for a struggle the year before. As early as March, 1887, the so-called "pool" had been formed, which included all the brewers who had united in order to act together against their workingmen. In the name of this pool, war was declared against the brewery workers, and Richard Katzenmayer, the secretary of the United States Brewers' Association, was the leading spirit.

At the above-mentioned conferences of the brewery owners a committee was chosen with instructions to draw up a manifesto which would make clear the standpoint of the brewery kings. This committee set to work and drew up an "Appeal," which was published on March 26, 1888, and read as follows:

"UNITED STATES BREWERS' UNION,
NEW YORK, March 26, 1888.
NO. 2 IRVING PLACE.

"To the Brewery Workers and Public in General:

"In consequence of an utter lack of harmony, the brewery proprietors in almost all the larger cities have been obliged to yield to the demands of their workingmen, in the matter of wages and hours of labor as well as the employment of help and its discharge. The misunderstanding into which they have been placed in conse-

quence of this, and contrary to their better judgment and will, could not avoid producing evil results, and after these methods had been in vogue two years, conditions have become intolerable. We brewery proprietors are, therefore, fully determined to put an end to this misunderstanding and return to the independent control and management of our business affairs, the adjustment of which we consider the right of the employer towards his employees.

"This resolution, however, does not interfere with our frank recognition of the right of the workingman to organize—a right which we, too, as proprietors, demand—or which tends to improve the condition of the workingmen. We are honest about this, and give our workingmen as well as the labor unions and the public in general the assurance, that our present measure has not been prompted by nor been instigated in the desire to effect any change in the contracts entered into with the workingmen or to change the stipulations of the agreement entered into regarding wages or working hours. The influence of the Union Brewery Workmen's Union upon its local unions and individual members shall and will increase in the future and extend over the brewery workers of the entire country for the purpose of raising differences and discord everywhere. Existing agreements shall, so far as they are not violated by the employees, be conscientiously lived up to, however, after their expiration, no new contracts will be entered into by the brewery proprietors, excepting those which the latter enters into individually and voluntarily with their employees.

"Our refusal to enter into new agreements is founded upon the indisputable right of every human being to act according to his own free will, provided that the exerting of this right does not conflict with the rights and privileges of others. The stipulations of the said contract, however, do not permit the exercising of these rights, as they do not permit the employee to dispose of his labors to his best advantage, and in that they do not permit the employer to make his own selection among the applicants according to the best advantage as regards competency and willingness to accept his offers, further preventing him from employing and discharging his employees according to his discretion, and to treat and compensate them according to their individual value and capability. Aside from these motives there are also other reasons and other considerations which urge us to insist upon immediately conferring, that is, without the interference of the Brewery Workers' Union, with our employees. The unaccustomed power which is granted these labor unions has

led in many instances to petty differences, created to annoy and humble the employers.

"Provisions of agreements have many times been violated without punishment being inflicted, incompetent workmen who have been discharged have been reinstated, and if in such and similar instances justified opposition has been offered, the result was that strike and boycott were resorted to. The responsibility for this misuse of power, also the blunders made when adjusting differences in labor questions, falls upon only a small number of men, namely, upon the leaders of the local unions of the National Organization of Brewery Workers.

"A by far greater responsibility, however, have these people undertaken by forcing the workmen under their jurisdiction to join the anarchistic movement, abhorred by every loyal citizen.

"In the face of these facts and reflections we adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That after the expiration of the contracts now existing, no new agreements between the brewery proprietors and brewery workmen's unions shall be entered into.

"*Resolved*, To give the workmen and the public the assurance that these measures are not to be adopted for the purpose of decreasing the present scale of wages, or to increase the present working hours, although we pay higher wages for work performed than any other branch of industry.

"*Resolved*, That we further give our employees the assurance that we acknowledge their right to secure all the benefits of their union and co-operation, but must insist that the exercising of this right be kept within the boundary where it does not interfere with the rights of others.

"*Resolved*, That should the adoption of these resolutions cause strikes, we will promise those workmen who remain in our employ during the trouble, or those who may take the positions of the strikers, that we shall protect them in every possible manner and assure them employment so long as they faithfully fulfill their duty. This is to apply to all workmen, without regard to their nationality.

"*Resolved*, That we, as law-abiding citizens, herewith express our disgust at the anarchistic tendencies of the brewery workers' unions, and in the name of the various brewery proprietors of the country and many thousand loyal brewery workers, express our disdain of the injustice which has been done us by the attempt to create public disrespect against our industry, as certain brewery

labor unions have attempted to do through their anarchistic agitation.

"In order to make these resolutions effective, we bind ourselves to mutual assistance and protection, and further emphasize this by the following agreement:

"Realizing the great importance of mutual protection against unjustified meddling on the part of organized workmen with our rights as employers, and in consideration of the facts that the competition among the brewery proprietors is a dangerous weapon which might be used against us, we again sanction the resolutions adopted by the executive officers on May 19, 1886, at their meeting which was held in St. Louis, and bind ourselves by our signatures to conscientiously fulfill the stipulations thereof, setting forth that we are not to take advantage of the misfortune of those of our brother brewers, whose business, in consequence of the strikes, boycotts, lockouts and other labor disturbances suffered, on the contrary that we should, upon the notification of the secretary of the United States Brewers' Association, we comply with the demand of the secretary and assist our colleagues in need, refusing to furnish beer, ale or porter to their customers, and that our representatives in the respective cities are to be instructed to act in accordance with the resolutions adopted.

"Fully convinced that this step will be to the interest of the employer as well as the employee, we confidently expect that both the workman and the public will give us their assistance.

"By order of the United States Brewers' Association, sanctioned by the local branches of the entire country affiliated with same.

"WM. A. MILES, President.

"RICHARD KATZENMAYER, Secretary."

This circular was a declaration of war on all the organized brewery workmen of the country. With its publication a struggle set in which lasted for years, in some places for a decade, and which finally ended with the victory of the workmen.

The united brewery owners had not taken into account the fact that it is impossible through force to destroy the labor movement and organization in any given trade, if that trade has reached a certain degree of development. Not only does capitalism produce an army of proletarians, but it also develops in this army a spirit of resistance and

leads to its organization. If the brewery owners had had so much insight, they would have saved themselves great losses. Of course, they would have then also spared the workingmen many sacrifices, long struggles, and untold sufferings.

4. THE LOCKOUT IN NEW YORK.

The "Appeal" of the United States Brewers' Association had scarcely appeared when the local New York organization of brewery capitalists, the New York Brewers' Pool, issued a circular to the breweries, in which the order was given that each brewery was to close its doors on April 16 at noon and all the workingmen were to be discharged. Operations in all the breweries were to be suspended until the following day, and then each brewer could engage those workingmen who were agreeable to him. A special agreement with the union then was not to be permitted. Each brewery capitalist was to negotiate with each individual workman, and the union as representative of the workers was no longer recognized.

The brewers' unions of New York answered this circular of the Pool brewers by an exposition of the contradictions which it contained. They pointed out that the brewery owners declared that they recognized the right of the workingmen to organize, but that in spite of this they refused to sign a contract with this organization of workingmen or to recognize it in any way. The bosses, it was pointed out, complained that the workingmen "interfered with personal liberty" because they made special stipulation with the sale of their labor-power; but they themselves had formed a trust years ago which forbade any members, under penalty of a heavy fine, to sell beer to the customers of another member, and thereby took away the right of business men to buy their goods wherever they pleased. They further proved that the bosses' circular

was a tissue of falsehoods, in that it asserted that the unions of the workingmen had used violence, that they had broken contracts, and in spite of contracts had gone on strike. No such case could be proved, but there were numerous cases where the brewery bosses had not lived up to the provisions of their contracts with their workmen.

The existing contract between the brewery owners and their workers expired on the first of April. The bosses and their officers, especially one A. E. Seifert, secretary of the Brewers' Exchange, acted as though there were no disputes whatever between them and their employees. In a letter to a committee of the Central Labor Union which had been appointed to settle the difficulties, Seifert coolly declared: "I wish to say that I am not aware of any controversies between our Association (the brewery bosses) and the brewery workmen which would require any arbitration." In reality, however, the gentlemen of the Brewers' Pool were well aware of these controversies, for within their own ranks they had to suppress a number of their colleagues and use all their power to prevent them from renewing the contract with their employees. After the issuance of the manifesto of March 26, Seifert himself said that half the bosses were willing to sign a new contract. This was especially the case with the small brewery owners, who were afraid that the threatening conflict would put them out of business. A few of them, perhaps, realized that the struggle was a welcome one to the large brewery owners, because it would not affect the workmen alone, but would also ruin the small bosses.

After the efforts of the Central Labor Union of New York to negotiate had proved futile, the boycott on all "Pool beer" was declared on April 8. Nearly all the labor organizations of New York endorsed this boycott and frequently in a very emphatic way. The Bakers' Union, for

instance, passed a resolution that any member who drank pool beer should be subject to a fine of \$10; any member who even went into a saloon where pool beer was sold was to be fined \$5. Furthermore, a number of labor organizations decided that at the next election the members should vote the Prohibition ticket if the brewery bosses in future would not recognize the organization of their workingmen. The bakers were by no means the only ones who took such a firm stand against the pool brewers.

However, as already stated, the labor movement on the whole seemed on the wane. The execution of the Chicago Anarchists, who were hanged not because they gave utterance to anarchistic doctrines, but because they defended the rights of workingmen, brought new courage to the employers of labor and discouraged a number of the working class. There was also another circumstance to be noted in connection with the condition in the breweries of New York and vicinity. The officers and other representatives of the organization proved themselves in that trying hour not able to cope with the situation. The National Secretary, Herbrand, especially did not know in that critical moment what his duty was.

The brewery owners, on their side, had committed the error of betraying their plans almost three weeks in advance. Instead of profiting by this error and declaring a strike at once, as a struggle was inevitable, the officers and representatives of the workingmen did absolutely nothing to make use of the favorable situation. Instead of immediately declaring a general strike, they let the men continue at work and thus gave the pool brewers time to take steps to make the struggle easier for themselves. All saloonkeepers got their supply of beer for several weeks in advance, and the breweries themselves tried to increase their reserve supplies as much as possible. When in the ranks of the workingmen it was proposed to anticipate

the threats of the employers and to commence the struggle at once, it was the delegates of the New York central labor body, the Central Labor Union, and the National Secretary, Herbrand, who opposed this proposition with all their influence. Only the execution of this measure could have weakened the threatened blow. At that time the suspicion was expressed that the brewery capitalists with their money had made attempts at corruption in the ranks of the workingmen, as has been proven to be the case on other occasions. However this may be, the fact remains that neither the National Executive of the Union nor Secretary Herbrand did their duty in that time of need.

On April 16, at noon, all the breweries of New York and the vicinity, seventy-eight in number, were closed by the owners, and about 4,000 men were thrown out upon the street. The workingmen took up the fight with all their might. Committees of all kinds watched over the shipping of beer, organized the boycott, and tried to keep away the streams of scabs, but it soon became evident that the struggle was a hopeless one. The general labor movement could not succeed in making its influence felt in the same manner as in the years 1886 and 1887. The number of members in the brewery workers' organization was decreased owing to the fact that a great many men returned to work within a few days as non-union laborers. Scabs appeared in great numbers, and those brewery workers who still put confidence in their craftsmanlike skill and thought that beer-brewing could not be conducted without them soon learned that in reality they were nothing more than ordinary factory workmen whose work could be performed by anyone, even the most unpracticed. The greater part of the men were compelled to leave their organization. Out of the 4,000 locked-out men who had until then belonged to the Brewers', Beer Drivers', Malters' and Firemen's Unions, only a handful of 400 men

remained from all these branches, and these men were employed in twelve breweries whose owners had recognized the union and acceded to its demands.

Almost heroic efforts were made on the part of the brewery workmen to bring to a successful termination this struggle into which they had been forced. In a period of seven weeks almost \$40,000 was paid out for the support of the locked-out workingmen. To this sum Brewers' Union No. 1 contributed \$16,000. The two Beer Drivers' Unions which belonged to the organization in New York contributed \$11,000 to the fund. The national organization gave over \$1,500, and \$6,700 was raised in New York and the vicinity on lists and by other labor organizations. The body of organized labor, and especially its German branches, did their utmost, but still it was not enough to make a victory possible in view of the great number who were locked out. Brewers' Union No. 1 could show that in contrast to the \$6,700 which was raised by all the labor organizations of New York outside the brewing industry in this time of need, the locked-out brewers had contributed almost \$25,000 in the course of the year and a quarter preceding the lockout for general labor purposes, and in addition to that more than \$3,500 had been given by the Beer Drivers' Union. A full year after the outbreak of the struggle, Brewers' Union No. 1 put an additional tax upon its members in order to support those workmen whom the brewery capitalists had put on the blacklist. The hand of the powerful brewery capitalists lay heavily upon the workingmen who had taken their fate into their hands in order to protect their interests from the brewery princes. They were refused work everywhere. And if by mistake they did get work in some place, they were driven out with scorn and derision when the mistake was discovered. The capitalists now revenged themselves

upon the leaders of the workingmen for having caused them two unpleasant years and curtailed their profits.

A day after the lockout of the brewery workmen, on April 17, one could read in all the bourgeois papers of New York, that the pool brewers were going to give their men the same hours and wages as in the preceding year when they were bound to these conditions by a contract. They did not mention, however, that this new scale of wages and the change in the working hours had been won by the organization which they now wanted to destroy. They did not mention that when the labor *organization* was once destroyed, the *conquests* of the organization would fall to pieces of their own accord. They attempted to mislead public opinion, and succeeded in this end with the bourgeois portion of the population, who looked upon the "presumption and impudence of the workingmen" with the same eyes as did the brewery princes themselves.

The National Union of United Brewery Workmen almost broke down under the blows which fell upon its branch organizations in New York and the vicinity. The confusion increased still more when the National Secretary and editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung*, Herbrand, suddenly left the scene of action and turned his back upon the battlefield just when the struggle was at the heaviest. He took a trip to Germany, without giving any thought to the straightening out of the affairs which had been entrusted to him. The secretary of Brewers' Union No. 1, Ernst Kurzenknabe, took over the management of the affairs of the organization for the time being, and Karl Ibsen took up the editing of the *Brauer-Zeitung*, which in those days of struggle was of double importance.

The "pool beer," as the entire product of the New York breweries who had taken up the struggle against the union was called, was avoided by all organized workmen of New

York, but the setbacks which occurred after the high tide of 1886 in the labor movement made an earnest struggle almost impossible. All organizations were occupied with their own affairs and had to represent their own claims and defend their own achievements. They could therefore not pay much attention to the demands of other workingmen. With the decline of the labor movement came disputes of all kinds which weakened the general solidarity. The boycott on pool beer became less and less effective, and the length of the struggle and its apparent hopelessness contributed to this weakening.

But all this did not discourage the small group which remained in the fight against the brewers. Comparatively large sums were raised in order to continue the boycott and to force other brewery owners to recognize the union of their workingmen and to accede to the conditions they demanded. All the newly organized breweries had to reckon with the union, as the latter was still strong enough to be able to hinder the success of a new brewery. Though the union suffered very heavily, it could not be entirely suppressed.

The number of members in Union No. 1 amounted at that time to about two hundred, who had kept up their ten-hour day and their wages of \$16 to \$18 a week. Then the number of union breweries gradually rose from twelve to twenty-five, with a consequent increase in the membership of the union. In 1891 a friendly agreement was reached by the Brooklyn members of the union and they separated from the mother section in New York. In the latter then remained only 130 members, which number was doubled during the following ten years of the struggle. Progress was terribly slow. Many of the members would frequently hang their heads and despair of success. All the more praiseworthy is the tenacity and perseverance of the others who continued the fight. Never despairing,

ceaselessly struggling, alert to every advantage, slowly but tenaciously they gained one foothold after the other, until finally the battle was won.

·5. BEFORE THE STATE BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

In the year 1886 a State Board was formed in Albany, N. Y., whose task it was to mediate in cases of labor disputes. This "Board of Mediation and Arbitration," whose decisions were, however, not binding for either party, immediately after the lockout of the brewery workmen took up this matter. On April 19, 1888, this Board held its first meeting at the Metropolitan Hotel in New York, and the representatives of the brewery workers as well as the brewery owners were called to appear before them.

The proceedings of the State Board of Arbitration in regard to the lockout of the New York brewers extended over a period of fourteen days. Both parties appeared with their witnesses and lawyers. The Central Labor Union was represented by its committee and by counsel. In the beginning, Samuel Gompers undertook to represent the brewery workmen, but he was relieved by a lawyer engaged by the Brewers' Union. The Pool Brewers' Association was represented in addition to its counsel, Mr. Untermeyer, by W. A. Miles, Henry Clausen, A. N. Beadleston and R. Katzenmayer. From the National Union of Brewery Workmen appeared Secretary Herbrand, also the Secretary of Union No. 1, E. Kurzenknabe, and a number of members of the organization, who for the most part had been called as witnesses.

The representatives of the Pool Brewers took the stand that they had nothing to arbitrate. Mr. Miles declared: "There is nothing to decide in this matter, for we consider our side as the just one." Although they intended to continue the wages and working hours as heretofore, they would not allow themselves to be dictated to as to whom

they were to employ. The president of the Pool Brewers declared: "We have in reality nothing against our workmen belonging to a union, but we demand from our people that they do not support an organization with their contributions which makes an attempt to destroy our business." "The locked-out workmen," Mr. Miles explained, "are to be pitied, but they permitted themselves to be misled by 'godless' leaders."

The spokesmen of the workmen, however, took the stand that they must insist upon recognition of the Union. The organization of the workmen had produced the improvement in their condition. Without a contract between the workmen and the bosses, in times when work was not plentiful, the men would be out on the street, as had been the case prior to the establishment of the union. The workmen cared much less about the particular points upon which they could eventually agree, than upon the recognition of the union by the closing of a contract the different demands of which could eventually be agreed upon; in fact, they would be willing to leave the details of this contract to the decision of the State Board of Arbitration. Only one condition they would have to hold to, insist upon, namely, that the locked-out workmen would have to be reinstated.

The representatives of the Pool Brewers most decidedly refused to make an agreement with the union. They had made up their minds to take up the fight all along the line and to destroy the organization of their workmen.

As under these circumstances an adjustment by the Arbitration Board could not be thought of, they gave up the attempt to do this; but in accordance with the law, they undertook an investigation of the whole affair in order to determine the facts which led to the outbreak of the struggle.

Even now the Pool Brewers took up the standpoint

that there was no dispute, and that therefore there was nothing to investigate. Their counsel, Untermeyer, declared that his clients would only take the part of spectators in this investigation; but they soon gave up this idea when they found that it did not prevent the State Board from proceeding with the investigation.

All the details of what happened before the lockout of the brewery workmen in Milwaukee, as well as the entire history of events leading up to the conflict in New York was now brought to light. A great part of the arbitrary actions which the brewery owners had perpetrated were now exposed. The assertion of the bosses that the brewery workers in Milwaukee had broken their contract by refusing to work with scab malt was met by the proof that the breaking of contracts was a daily occurrence with the Pool Brewers. The complaint that the beer boycott had been declared was met with the proof that the brewery owners themselves had made an agreement according to which they were to boycott the barley of states where prohibition and temperance laws had been enacted.

The investigation showed that the brewery owners, not the brewery workers, had been the aggressors. It was shown that some of the brewery owners of New York had wanted to renew the contract with the union, but they refrained from doing this out of fear, because they had been threatened by the Pool that their business would be ruined if they did it. One brewery owner had explained to the committee of workingmen that waited upon him: "If I sign this, I cannot obtain any malt." George Bechtel, a well-known and respected brewer of Staten Island, who had not joined the Pool, explained to the lawyer of the Pool at the hearing before the Arbitration Board: "The Pool would like to destroy me. I think I would not even be able to get coal if you could prevent it." Untermeyer, counsel for the Pool, attempted to fasten suspicion upon

the brewers who had given in to the demands of their workingmen and had signed contracts with the Union, by asserting that these owners had given money to the workingmen. He tried to prove this assertion especially in regard to Bechtel and Loewer, but without success. He was also unsuccessful in trying to prove that the officers of the Union had used its money for their own purposes. The insolent manner in which the counsel for the Pool Brewers endeavored to confuse the workingmen during cross-examinations often brought him an answer of the same kind. When he asked Richard Elsner, Secretary of the Milwaukee Brewers' Union, whether he did not have a weak memory, Elsner replied aptly: "Perhaps, I just happened to have had a glass of Pool beer; that may be the reason for it."

The arbitrary manner in which the brewery owners treated their workmen was shown when it was pointed out that the bosses simply decided when their workingmen were to join an organization and when they should not do so. The secretary of the Brewery Workmen's Union declared under oath, that in the year 1885, when Brewers' Union No. 1 had only 60 members, several brewery owners had come to him, among them Scharmann and Clausen and the secretary of the Brewers' Association, R. Katzenmayer, and had offered to sign a contract with the union. When he explained that the union was very weak as yet, he was told: "Let us look out for that," implying thereby that they would compel their workingmen to join the union. And what this committee of brewery owners had declared did happen. Not only did they force their workingmen to join the organization, but in certain instances they disciplined the men who refused to join, not only by threatening that they would discharge them, but by actually doing so. By this compulsion which the brewery owners exercised upon their workingmen the Brewers'

Union No. 1 got its strength and its importance. While then, as was proved by witnesses before the Arbitration Board, the brewery owners had forced their men by threats to join the union, and had declared that they would discharge anyone who refused to join the organization, the bosses now declared that they would discharge everyone who did not leave the union.

Counsel of the Pool Brewers did not know how to meet these examples of arbitrary treatment and abuse of economic power against their union competitors and against their workingmen except by casting suspicion on the brewery workers in the eyes of the Arbitration Board by representing them as anarchists. To this end the most ridiculous assertions were made by him and the silliest proofs offered.

The main object of this comedy was to influence public opinion, which the brewery owners very much needed on their side in order to carry out their plan of destroying the organization of their workingmen. The tragedy in Chicago where a number of anarchists had been hanged, and the exploitation of this tragedy by the bourgeois press for the purpose of bourgeois reaction, had antagonized public opinion against everything which resembled anarchism or what the bourgeois mind imagined as anarchism. The brewery workmen at their second convention had issued a protest against the condemnation of the Chicago anarchists. Many of their unions had made contributions towards the defense fund. On the day of the judicial murder in Chicago, the brewery workmen of that city as an expression of their sorrow and their protest, had suspended work, and this without the permission of the brewery owners, who protested against this independent action of their workingmen. The New York Brewers' Union had taken part in a parade in honor of the executed men. All this was used by counsel for the brewery owners

to show that the organization and its workingmen were "anarchistic."

Issues of the *Brauer-Zeitung*, which like all progressive labor papers of that time, had sympathetic articles in behalf of the hanged anarchists, were submitted to the Arbitration Board. Mr. Untermeyer tried to bring out by his questions that the Brewers' Union is a "secret oath-bound organization," and that by the admission of its members the "anarchistic" red flag played a part. He even had the union books dragged into court in order to prove this. He declared that the workingmen had carried red flags at the labor demonstration at Union Square. He demanded that as a proof of this the "blood-red" flag of Brewers' Union No. 1 be brought into court. The flag was brought. It was red in parts, but it also had all sorts of other colors, and in the center it had a figure of Gambrinus. Mr. Untermeyer's proofs failed. To the amusement of all it came out that the flag of Brewers' Union No. 1 had only been procured since the demonstration in question, and therefore could not have been used at the parade.

The attempt to prove the Brewers' Union an anarchistic organization was not confined to New York. In Chicago and Milwaukee the same game was played by the brewery owners. In Milwaukee they issued a circular in which they protested against their so-called anarchistic tendencies and the expression of such tendencies in their journals.

The investigation of the dispute in New York by the State Board of Arbitration was without any result, and this could not be otherwise. The Pool desired the destruction of the workingmen's organization. This organization tried to defend itself, and although greatly weakened continued its fight. However, it was only a small group which in these hard times held the flag of the union aloft.

6. THE STRUGGLE THROUGH THE COUNTRY.

At the same time as in New York, the struggle broke out all over the country wherever organizations of brewery workmen had been formed.

In most cases the result of the lockout of the workmen was the same as in New York. In Newark the number of members of Union No. 2 went down from 350 to thirty-five. But these held out, even when there was not a single union brewery in Newark. Then they succeeded in inducing one brewery owner, Joseph Kastner, to leave the Brewers' Pool, and with the union beer of this concern as a weapon they soon succeeded in getting other breweries to give in. By the end of the year 1889, Union No. 2 of Newark and the vicinity gained no less than eight breweries in which union rules were enforced.

These conquests were not made without a struggle. The boycott claimed its victims. Not less than six members of the union were brought before the court in one year on the charge of boycotting, and the union had to pay fines up to the amount of a thousand dollars.

In Buffalo the lockout of the workingmen occurred on the first of May. On this day the contract between the brewery owners and their workingmen expired and the former refused to renew it, but on the contrary locked out the union workmen, about 250 in number. A single exception to this was the Columbia Brewing Company, which signed the contract after two days and took its men back to work.

In Buffalo the struggle lasted three years. The Pool Brewers had formed their workingmen into an "independent union," a name which was to mask the actual dependence of their men. Then came peace and all breweries of that city organized as union breweries. The "independent union" joined the local union of the United

Brewery Workmen, and thus the conflict of 1888 ended as far as Buffalo was concerned.

In Cincinnati the fight started by a strike of the workmen in a few of the larger breweries, whereupon on July 19 all the brewery owners, with one solitary exception, demanded that their workmen either leave the union or cease working in their breweries. The workmen did the latter and the lockout was general. Here, too, the union was affected in the same way as in New York. The membership of the organization dwindled down from a round hundred to thirteen men, who were employed in one union brewery. In the year 1900 another firm recognized the union, and in the following year six additional breweries were conquered by the organization. Only on September 20, 1902, did the struggle of 1888 come to an end in Cincinnati, when all the breweries of that city recognized the union and at the same time abolished all Sunday work.

In Chicago the situation was the same as in the other places. Here the struggle started in April, 1888, and the lockout immediately made a great reduction in the membership of the union. The union retained but little influence and was of practically no importance. On June 8, 1888, the strike was declared to be at an end and the breweries were now open to all members. It was not until September 13, 1891, that the union was reorganized in Chicago.

The situation in the small places was just the same as in the large cities. Everywhere there were struggles and temporary defeats. But everywhere there was a small group which held out tenaciously, and which gradually gained more and more ground. One or the other brewer would consider it to his advantage to make peace with the union. The consumption of union beer was then used as a lever to get other brewery owners out of the Pool. From all over, even from San Francisco and other places

on the Pacific Coast, the news came that some brewery owners had made peace with the union and that thereby the prospects for the union had improved. All this made the future look more hopeful. For the present, however, most of the local unions and through them the National Union had suffered terribly.

7. THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO.

The attack of the brewery capitalists upon the organization of their workingmen and the numerous struggles and defeats had weakened the undeveloped labor organization very much indeed. The number of members was scarcely a third of what it had been in the preceding year. The treasury was depleted. The administration of the National Union had broken down completely and the bookkeeping and financial management was greatly confused by the sudden disappearance of the National Secretary.

A consultation of all the elements which still stuck to the organization was necessary, if the National Union was not to go to pieces altogether.

A special conference of delegates was, therefore, called at Chicago for July 15, 1888. The conference met there on that day and remained in session until July 18.

Fourteen delegates were present, representing twenty local unions. But these unions had had their membership very much diminished by the existing struggles. The 5,000 members of the preceding year had dwindled down to less than 2,000.

The convention made a survey of the situation possible. In the East, where the struggle had been the hardest, there were still several hundred members to support who had been put on the black-list by the boss brewers' association. New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and Buffalo suffered most under this condition. In Philadelphia and Pittsburg the

local unions of the brewers scarcely existed. In New Haven, too, the organization was badly shaken. Only on the Pacific Coast, in Cleveland, and in Syracuse, was the condition of the union a good one. In the other places where organizations still existed, and where union rules were partly enforced without a contract, a disposition showed itself to neglect the payment of dues and this led to the neglect of the union on the whole. The sudden departure of National Secretary Herbrand had been seized upon by the Pool Brewers and made the basis for all sorts of lies and calumnies against the officers of the union, in an attempt to make the workingmen suspicious of the organization. In regard to wages the fact was brought out that in those places where union men worked, the old wages and the same working hours had been kept up, but that in the places where non-union men were employed these worked for from \$10 to \$20 a month less.

The provisional secretary of the National Union, Ludwig Arnheim, of New York, showed in his report a picture of the struggle and pointed out that the brewery owners had carried out a long cherished plan when they dealt the blow to the organization.

The conduct of the former National Secretary and of the National Executive was sharply criticised, and this criticism was expressed in a resolution which declared that Herbrand "was not equal to the important and difficult task of a National Secretary, nor could he represent the organization during dangerous and unsettled times." Herbrand was, therefore, declared to have forfeited his office as National Secretary. In regard to the National Executive of the organization similar action was taken. It was said that this board had grossly neglected its duties, that during the struggle in New York they had proved themselves incompetent to have the leadership and guidance of the organization, and that therefore all the

members had forfeited their offices and their places were declared vacant.

According to the new constitution which was adopted in Chicago, the Executive was to be composed of five members, to be selected from the organizations of the place to be designated as the seat of the Executive and of four additional members from the unions of four cities which the convention was to designate. The convention named San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago, and Cleveland each to furnish one member of the Executive, and also determined that New York was to be the seat of the Board, and that the *Brauer-Zeitung* should also remain there. Karl Ibsen was elected editor, as he had edited the paper since April. Ernst Kurzenknabe was elected National Secretary.

The proceedings in Chicago showed that the working-men had learned something from the action of the bosses. In their debates it was emphasized that the "craft spirit" of the brewers was out of date, as the employers had shown them that unskilled "hands" could, if necessary, perform the work pretty well.

In general, the conference advocated a uniting of all labor organizations and voted to express its thanks for the assistance rendered by the central bodies of New York, Chicago, and Buffalo, and other unions.

CHAPTER VI.

The Development of the United Brewery Workmen.

1. DARK TIMES.

THE successes which the brewery workers had achieved as a result of their organization in their first attempts were so great that it is not to be wondered at that the brewery capitalists made the attempt by means of their economic power to destroy the union and to bring back the former conditions. For a decade the workingmen had to defend what they had achieved at the very start. That they finally succeeded in doing this is due less to the power of the brewery workers than to the fact that the development of the industry made a return to former conditions impossible as well as to the fact that a small group of brewery workers held aloft the banner of the organization at the cost of heavy personal sacrifices and that in spite of the occasional lukewarmness of organized labor in general, they did finally, at the decisive moment, step in for the brewery workers and their organization.

The years 1888 and 1889 were the hardest which the United Brewery Workmen ever had. Their ranks were depleted, their treasury empty, and discouragement prevailed. In addition to this there was a new struggle in San Francisco where the organization had still retained some strength. Four hundred men were affected by this struggle and they were therefore busy enough with themselves without assisting the organization in the East. In July, 1889, this struggle ended with the victory of the union, but this as we shall see later was of no advantage to the organization, in fact, was rather detrimental.

On September 8, 1889, the fourth convention of the organization assembled in Cincinnati. Only eleven dele-

gates were present, representing twenty-three local unions. The report of the National Secretary presented a sad picture. He complained about the bad condition of the general labor movement and the consequent weakness of the brewery workers' organization.

Local Union No. 16, on the Pacific Coast, was the only one, so the Secretary reported, which had been able to "breast the storm" and that was the reason why the united brewery capitalists had now directed a renewed attack against this union. Among the workingmen in New York a lack of enthusiasm in regard to the boycott began to show itself. In the central body votes were raised in favor of revoking the boycott against the Pool Brewers. There seemed to be no doubt that the Pool Brewers were behind these motions, and later on this was directly proved.

In the brewing cities of the West—Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis—things were no better than in New York, in some respects even worse. There were but few places where the organization had retained some degree of strength. Nevertheless in some cities, as Baltimore, Syracuse, Albany, and partly in New York, Newark, and Cincinnati, advantages had been gained in the form of contracts, while San Francisco was able to look back upon a good victory.

The treasury of the organization contained less than \$300, the membership consisted of less than 2,000 men. This was a state of affairs which might make even the bravest despair.

The proceedings of the convention were therefore confined to routine business. The seat of the Executive of the National Union was retained in New York. Ernst Kurzenknabe was retained as National Secretary and Karl Ibsen was re-elected as editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung*. It was recommended that there be a district division for

the country according to which the organization was to be sub-divided into five geographical divisions. This new form of organization, however, was never carried out. Resolutions were passed against the pool beer in Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, an eight-hour day was recommended, and disapproval was expressed of several socialistic sections who held their meetings in places where scab beer was sold. With this the activity of the Cincinnati convention was exhausted.

But as hopeless as the prospects were then, it was even worse later. The attack which threatened to destroy the union came from within its own ranks.

2. STRUGGLE AND STRIFE ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

The brewery owners of San Francisco who had closed a contract with their men used the outbreak of the struggle in the East as the opportunity for constant violations of this contract. It was evidently intended to cause a clash. The workingmen who were organized in Local Union No. 16, Pacific Coast, declared a boycott against one of the firms in question, the United States Brewing Co. Thereupon the united employers submitted a document to the workingmen which they were to sign and according to which they were to solemnly renounce the union for all time. The Executive Board of the union requested the workingmen to sign, and this was done. However, when the employers observed that in spite of having signed the paper, the workingmen remained true to their organization, they demanded in October, 1888, that all the membership books be submitted to them, so that they could see up to what date the various men had paid their union dues. All those who said that the books were no longer in their possession, as well as those who had continued to pay after they had signed the document, were immediately discharged. About 150 men were disciplined

in this manner. The boycott which was previously declared was emphasized more sharply. The bosses now used corrupt practices. As in the East, they attempted bribery. In some of the unions—those of the coopers and the boilermakers—they were successful in procuring the passage of anti-boycott resolutions. Various attempts to bribe delegates to the central labor body were made known. The brewery workmen's union took into its own hands the matter of getting a regular supply of beer from a brewery in Sacramento. In April, 1889, the support which the Brewers' Pool in the East had been giving to the brewery capitalists in San Francisco came to an end. They had become tired of the struggle and so it came to a temporary peace. But new disputes arose whereupon the central labor body threatened a renewal of the boycott. Then two firms left the Brewers' Pool and sent their workingmen into the union. This example was followed by the other brewery owners. The boycott had done its part.

This victory of the brewery workers of San Francisco had brought the Secretary of their union, Alfred Fuhrmann, into greater prominence. He ruled his organization completely, and when the convention in Cincinnati was called, he was naturally sent as delegate.

At the convention Fuhrmann attempted to weaken the National Executive and the organ of the union, the *Brauer-Zeitung*, as much as possible. He opposed the weekly issuance of the paper, and declared that the National Executive had had no right to levy an assessment of 10 cents upon the membership. It was due to Fuhrmann's influence that his union refused to pay this assessment. He also opposed the resolution to raise the tax to 25 cents for a few months in order to insure the existence of the *Brauer-Zeitung*.

Whether the weakness of the organization which was disclosed at the convention in Cincinnati gave him the

conviction that this organization could not continue, or whether he had other reasons, the fact remains that Fuhrmann planned to form a new organization which was to have its seat in the West, and where he was naturally to play an important part. He declared after his return from the convention in Cincinnati, that the existing organization was no longer of any use and that it would have to be brought to an end. He hoped to get the support of the unions in Cleveland, Buffalo, St. Louis, and Denver—a hope which, however, proved futile.

After his return to San Francisco Fuhrmann began his activities against the National Executive. He induced his union not to pay the assessment which the National Executive had proposed and which had been passed. The administration of the National Union thereupon was compelled on January 14, 1890, to suspend Local Union No. 16, in San Francisco. The local union of Cleveland was suspended for the same reason, but paid immediately and was then again taken into the organization.

With the suspension of the local union in San Francisco the organization lost 400 members, and its numbers had now dwindled down to 1,300.

Fuhrmann now organized his "United Brewery Workmen's Union of the Pacific Coast," whose General Secretary he became. He made connections with Oakland, Seattle, Portland, Tacoma, Sacramento, and San Jose, and brought the membership of his organization to about 700 men. As he was the president of the San Francisco Central Labor Body, this organization, too, stood by him. It was said that he endeavored to form a new labor federation of the Pacific Coast.

But opposition too was not lacking. A number of brewery workers applied to the National Executive of the United Brewery Workmen for a charter, and this was granted. This mistake caused a general conflict among

the workingmen of San Francisco by which the German organizations and their organ, the San Francisco *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, suffered most. The different interests of the brewery owners, the so-called English syndicate and the independent brewers, also played a part in this struggle among the workingmen through the agency of their tools within the labor movement. Republican and Democratic politicians, with whom Fuhrmann was unfortunately in touch, also stepped into the struggle of the brewery workmen. Socialists, Nationalists and Trade-Unionists were all antagonizing each other. Very suspicious leaders, Fuhrmann and Albert Curblin on the one side, and the notorious Henry Weissmann on the other, thus pursued their own various interests. Even human life was sacrificed in this struggle. An adherent of the United Brewery Workmen, John May by name, was shot dead by a policeman; the savagely bitter feeling which was caused by this struggle is shown by the fact that when the news of May's death was made known in the central labor body of San Francisco, it was received with a clapping of hands, and in the Brewery Workmen's Union of the Pacific Coast, a resolution was passed forbidding any of its members to attend May's funeral.

At its convention, held in Detroit in 1890, the American Federation of Labor had suspended the Council of Federated Trades, the central labor body of San Francisco, because it had refused to unseat the local union on its suspension by the United Brewery Workmen. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, however, did not pay any attention to this resolution, or at any rate it did not enforce it, and the fifth convention of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen framed a resolution, in which the President and Executive of the Federation of Labor were blamed for not following the instructions of the convention of their organization.

It especially protested that under the lead of the suspended brewers' union of the Pacific Coast and its general secretary, Fuhrmann, a new federation of all the unions of the Pacific Coast was being formed in the name and under the protection of the American Federation of Labor.

At the convention of the Federation of Labor which was held in December, 1891, in Birmingham, the Council of Federated Trades in San Francisco asked to be reinstated in the Federation of Labor. This was granted under the condition that the brewery workers of the Pacific Coast again join their National Union. A kind of truce set in, partly against the will of the newly founded Local Union No. 16 in San Francisco. The reunion took place at the sixth convention of the United Brewery Workmen, held in Buffalo in 1892. The members of the new Union No. 16 joined the old union, which now had become No. 7, and the latter paid the assessment which had been the innocent cause of this ugly fight.

The union suffered very much through these disputes and at that time made no progress. Karl Ibsen had given up his position as editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung* and National Secretary Kurzenknabe had taken this post in addition to his other work. All in all, it was a pretty sad state of affairs.

3. A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

Already at the convention of the American Federation of Labor which took place in Boston in 1889 it had been decided to concentrate the struggle against certain large breweries. In accordance with this decision the fight was waged chiefly against the two largest brewery firms in the country, namely, the Anhäuser-Busch Brewing Co. in St. Louis and the Pabst Brewing Co. in Milwaukee. The boycott against the Anhäuser-Busch Co. was endorsed by the Executive of the Knights of Labor, because the

brewery workers of St. Louis belonged to this organization. This was of great importance for the brewery workers, since the firm against whom the boycott was declared had its chief trade in the South, where the Knights of Labor were particularly strong.

In the meantime the strength of the Brewers' Pool had diminished somewhat. In some cities the workingmen had kept their ground without having to take up the fight. In others they had won certain advantages which made it possible for them to organize the boycott against the Pool. The lengthy struggle became wearisome to the brewery owners. At Buffalo in June, 1891, there were the first signs of an improvement in the situation. After a struggle which lasted about three years the workmen gained the upper hand and they soon controlled all the breweries in which union conditions prevailed.

While the convention of the Brewery Workmen in St. Louis was in session in 1892, negotiations were started with the Anheuser-Busch Co., but they were without result, as the firm insisted that the boycott must be revoked before they could think of negotiations. But a month after the convention the General Executive of the Knights of Labor informed the Brewers' Union in St. Louis, where about a hundred men had continued the fight, that A. Busch, president of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, was ready to make an agreement. The terms offered were refused by the brewery workers. Further negotiation led to an agreement and eight workingmen who had been discharged by the firm on account of the boycott had to be reinstated.

The surrender of Anheuser-Busch, which was mainly caused by the enormous losses of the firm in the South, forced the other firms in St. Louis to make peace with the union. After a struggle lasting three and a half years, the

workingmen had been victorious. The membership of the union rose from 93 to 684.

Although up to this time Milwaukee was lost to the union, as there was no trace of a local organization, the victory of the St. Louis brewers forced the brewery princes of that city also to surrender.

The revocation of the boycott against the Anhäuser-Busch Co. was the signal for a reinforced boycott against the Pabst beer, which, as has been mentioned, was one of the two especially boycotted. The carpenters of Milwaukee had at the same time a special boycott against the Pabst beer, because the owner had shown himself a particularly bitter enemy of labor. Pabst, the president of the firm, who was the real originator of the attempt to destroy the Brewery Workmen's Union in 1888, now began to feel the power of organized labor, and in addition to this he now had to meet the competition of the union breweries in St. Louis. Therefore he himself asked his workingmen to reorganize their union. He telegraphed to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen and requested them to send an organizer, as he wished to see his men in a union.

It seems that the National Executive was somewhat too hasty in acceding to the request of Mr. Pabst. At any rate, the brewers of St. Louis complained that it would have been possible to obtain a better contract than the one which was made. The firm of Anhäuser-Busch complained in a number of letters directed to the General Executive of the Knights of Labor that Milwaukee—the other breweries there had followed the example of Pabst—paid lower wages to the brewery workers than they. They even threatened that if the wages in Milwaukee were not brought up to the standard of St. Louis, they would be compelled to reduce their wages.

In reply to this the brewery workers of St. Louis asked their colleagues in Milwaukee that they too should join

the Knights of Labor. In order to avoid friction, the convention of the National Union decided that in future conditions of work for St. Louis, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Cincinnati, which cities had about the same market for their product, should be the same.

4. GROWTH OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The conclusion of the struggle in St. Louis, Milwaukee, and a number of smaller places naturally gave the organization new strength and increased its membership. In places where the struggle continued—as in New York—it was pursued with renewed courage, for the men saw that perseverance leads to the goal, and that for them, too, success was only a question of time.

Although in a number of small places the brewery workers were organized and formed into local unions, the membership in the large brewing cities of the Middle West increased but slowly prior to the victory. When in August, 1891, the fifth convention of the United Brewery Workmen assembled in St. Louis, although the number of local unions represented had risen to thirty and the number of delegates to twenty, the membership of the organization was still only a little over 2,800. Since the preceding convention about a dozen new local unions had been organized, but this was outweighed by the loss of the 400 San Francisco members.

At this convention it was proposed that the seat of the Executive be transferred from New York, which in reality was no longer the central point of the organization, to the Middle West. This proposition did not meet with the approval of the convention. At the election of officers Ernst Kurzenknabe was again chosen National Secretary. His opponent was Ernst Bohm. The editing of the *Brauer-Zeitung* still remained in the hands of the National Secretary.

The sixth convention of the National Union took place in Buffalo in 1892. Its composition showed a gratifying progress. The number of delegates had increased to thirty-six, the number of unions represented to forty-eight. In consequence of the conclusion of the struggle in St. Louis and Milwaukee, which had brought the brewery workers of those cities into the organization, the number of local unions belonging to the United Brewery Workmen had risen to sixty-six, with a membership of 6,830.

This rapid increase in the number of local unions was due in part to the fact that the competition of the large firms in St. Louis and Milwaukee which were now union breweries compelled many small brewery owners in the Middle West to make their breweries union establishments. They themselves founded "unions" of their workingmen, but were not very strict about upholding union rules. Especially as to the hours of work, they were not very particular. While the average union working time was ten hours, and on the Pacific Coast only nine hours, there were union breweries where the men worked eleven and twelve hours.

This state of affairs was brought to an end by the convention in Buffalo, when it declared that no member of the organization was to be permitted to work longer than ten hours a day.

Another resolution was passed at Buffalo requesting the pardoning of the Chicago anarchists who were imprisoned in Joliet. Instead of one National Secretary, two were now elected, Ernst Kurzenknabe and Ch. F. Bechtold. The seat of the Executive was transferred from New York to St. Louis.

The seventh convention, held in Milwaukee in September, 1893, again showed good progress of the organization. Forty-eight delegates were present, representing fifty-eight local unions. The membership had grown to 8,925, and

the standing of the organization had been made firmer because it had succeeded in obtaining a complete victory at Cincinnati.

In San Francisco the struggle between some of the brewery workers and a few of the breweries continued and the product of these breweries had been placed under boycott. There were constant disputes as a result of the rule of Fuhrmann and this prolonged the fight.

In Milwaukee conditions had improved considerably. The union of that city, No. 9, consisted of not less than 1,200 members, and they had closed a new contract with the brewery owners which brought them an increase of from five to seven dollars per month.

At the convention in Milwaukee Ernst Kurzenknabe and Ch. F. Bechtold were again re-elected as National Secretaries.

In the course of the following year the United Brewery Workmen, as well as all other labor organizations, suffered very much from the crisis which then prevailed and which threw hundreds of thousands of workingmen out of employment. By September, 1894, when the eighth convention assembled in Cleveland, the membership had gone down to 7,634—that is, it had lost 1,300 members. The attendance at the convention also decreased; there were only forty delegates present, representing fifty-two local unions.

The internal conditions of the organization also left much to be desired. Several large unions, especially those of Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago, had refused after the convention in Milwaukee to submit to certain resolutions passed there. Especially did they refuse to pay an assessment of 10 cents which had been decided upon by the convention. Far-reaching disputes and controversies within the organization were the result of this lack of discipline and the brewery owners, who were fully informed as to the

happenings within the workmen's organization, naturally sought to gain advantage from this state of affairs.

In St. Louis the situation was the worst. Here the brewery workers demanded the recognition of the organization of beer drivers and brewery firemen, but this demand was refused by all the breweries except those of Anhäuser-Busch and William I. Lemp. When the workingmen declared a boycott the breweries in question locked out 400 men. It seems that in this struggle the controversies between different groups of capitalists played a part. It appears that one group desired to buy the stock of the breweries which were affected by the boycott and that this stock could be obtained at lower figures on account of the boycott. This, of course, helped to prolong the struggle.

The United Brewery Workmen attempted with their own means to bring union beer from other cities into St. Louis. This experiment cost about \$6,000, but was not entirely without success. The cost of the struggle from October, 1893, to September, 1904, amounted to more than \$13,000, and the union decreased from a membership of 795 to 335. In the following year, while the struggle still continued, the membership sank to 270.

At the conclusion of the Cleveland convention, Kurzenknabe and Bechtold were again elected National Secretaries.

When two years later, in September, 1896, the ninth convention assembled in Cincinnati, the National Union had won a few hundred more members, but the condition of the organization was not particularly good. The number of members was 8,072, the number of local unions 104. Forty-nine delegates were present at the convention, representing sixty-three local unions. The reports showed that in St. Louis, as well as in San Francisco and Pittsburg, the union was still involved in local struggles.

Among other things, it was decided that the editorship of the *Brauer-Zeitung* should be separated from the national secretaryship. Jakob Franz was elected to this position.

The English element made itself more strongly felt for the first time at this convention. It requested that the organ of the union be published in English as well as in German; this request, however, was not granted for the present, on account of the increased expense it would involve.

The next convention took place in Boston in September, 1897, and was attended by fifty-one delegates, representing sixty local unions. The membership had grown to 10,199, and these were distributed in 126 local unions. Besides this there were twenty-seven branch organizations, which did not have sufficient members to constitute local unions by themselves and therefore had to affiliate with the nearest local union. The appearance of these "branches" was proof that the brewers' organization was beginning to get a foothold in the single breweries in smaller places.

On the whole, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati were at that time the best organized places. The officers of the organization were all re-elected.

The next convention, which was at the same time a special convention called by general vote of the membership, assembled in April, 1899, at St. Louis. It was attended by fifty-six delegates. The special purpose of the convention was to straighten out disputes and irregularities which had developed in the office of the organization, especially between the two national secretaries, and which required immediate adjustment. The special convention attacked the matter by first forming a committee which took charge of the treasury and then declaring vacant the offices of the two national secretaries, the treasurer, the

editor, and the entire executive. The filling of the vacant places was to be taken up at the regular convention which followed the special convention.

After five days had been spent in adjusting the disputes and irregularities of the office of the National Union, the activities of the regular convention commenced on April 7. The report of Secretary Bechtold showed that the number of local unions had increased by thirty-four and the membership of the organization had grown by 1,350. In St. Louis the struggle had come to a victorious conclusion in February, 1899, after a duration of more than five years. The expenses of this struggle amounted to about \$27,000. The St. Louis Local Union No. 6, which had 800 members at the outbreak of the dispute, had at the end of the struggle, when all the breweries were again union establishments, a membership of 663. This decrease is explained by a fact which is a frequent occurrence in labor struggles. While the struggle was on the brewery owners did all in their power to introduce improved machinery in order to overcome the lack of reliable and efficient workmen.

In Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and New York the struggle was continued, but without success, and the situation on the Pacific Coast was not very good. In a few Eastern places, the union had succeeded in reducing the working time to nine hours.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of Bechtold as first and J. Zorn as second National Secretary. J. Franz was elected editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung*. The seat of the executive was transferred from St. Louis to Cincinnati.

The twelfth convention of the National Union took place in Detroit on September 9, 1900. Eighty-six delegates were present, representing 105 local unions. The membership as well as the number of affiliated organiza-

tions showed a decided progress. There were now 202 local unions, with which in turn were connected eighty-three branches, and the membership had almost doubled within the last three years. It had grown to 19,900. Since the previous convention fifty-one local unions and thirty-five branches had been newly organized. In several districts where until now conditions had not been so favorable, they improved on account of the general rise in the labor movement; this was notably the case in San Francisco. The nine-hour day had been introduced not only on the Pacific Coast, but also in a number of places in the Middle West, especially in Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. This, according to the report of the National Secretary, proved a blessing especially for the unemployed. Further reduction in the hours of labor was recommended.

In Cincinnati at this time all the breweries had closed a contract with the union, and the membership of Local Union No. 12, in that city, was 640. In Milwaukee a dispute had arisen between the brewery workers and the coopers, because the latter had declared a strike in order to prevent the introduction of machinery and machine production in the Pabst Brewery. This was a reactionary position which the brewery workers rightly refused to endorse.

The erection of a home for old and disabled brewery workers was taken up at this convention in Detroit, but no definite steps were taken towards that end. A resolution was unanimously adopted asking the Congress of the United States to repeal the war tax on beer and restore the old tax of \$1.00 per barrel.

The office of editor of the brewers' journal was taken away from its present incumbent and given to W. E. Trautmann. The two national secretaries, Bechtold and

Zorn, were re-elected. The headquarters of the organization remained in Cincinnati.

At Detroit it was decided that the next convention was to take place at Philadelphia, and here the delegates assembled on September 8, 1901. There were 121 delegates present, representing 188 local unions. The membership had risen to 26,000, the number of local unions to 280, and the branches to 115. Since the Detroit convention eighty-nine local unions and twenty branches had been formed. However, a small number of unions had in the meantime been dissolved.

At the convention in Philadelphia, also, internal disputes played a large part. The first National Secretary, Charles F. Bechtold, had been suspended by the Executive of the National Union on June 5, 1901, and charges were made against him. Much time was spent on this matter, but without arriving at any definite decision.

According to the Secretary's report the eight-hour day prevailed in the brewing trade on the Pacific Coast and in Texas, and in union breweries elsewhere the nine-hour day obtained. A motion to start an immediate fight to establish the eight-hour day generally and to embody it in contracts with the brewery owners was lost.

It was decided that the officers of the National Union should be elected by general vote of the membership. This election gave the first and second national secretaryships to J. Zorn and L. Kemper, respectively, and the editorship of the *Brauer-Zeitung* to W. E. Trautmann.

From less than 2,000 in the year 1889, when the brewery capitalists had inaugurated their general attack on the organization of their workmen, the membership of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen in these twelve years of uninterrupted struggle had grown to 26,000. In the Far West, as well as in the Middle States, the situation was now good. In all the large cities of

these regions the brewery workers had been successful in their fight against the Brewers' Pool. In New York, however, the chief center of the industry, the pool brewers still held their ground. We must now see how affairs had developed here during these long years of struggle.

5. THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE IN NEW YORK.

The fight against the Brewers' Pool was unceasingly continued in that territory which is now included in Greater New York. The union which conducted this fight was weak. The labor movement during those years was disintegrated. The general public had become tired of the boycott and finally grew indifferent to it. The lack of success in this struggle and the apparent hopelessness of the cause led to disputes and quarrels which contributed not a little to the difficulty of the whole situation.

Besides all this, there were betrayals and corruption in the workingmen's own ranks which were instigated and promoted by the Brewers' Pool and its money.

No matter how much the brewery capitalists might pretend that the boycott on their beer had no effect whatever, still it was very embarrassing to them. Especially did the opposition of the workingmen to their product have its effect in hampering their efforts to obtain new trade and win new territory, even though this fight was so long drawn out.

The bribery of influential delegates in the central labor body of New York was therefore resorted to in the attempt to get the boycott against pool beer raised. In Brooklyn this boycott had been withdrawn as early as 1888 by the Central Labor Union of that city. In its place a special boycott was declared against certain particular breweries, but this special boycott was never carried into effect. As a result of these actions a separate central labor body was

formed by the German unions, which took up the fight against the pool breweries.

At this time a number of voices were also raised in the New York Central Labor Union in favor of suspending the boycott against pool beer; the same proposition was also made in a number of unions. The members of the labor organizations had become tired of the boycott. As there was a lack of union meeting rooms, the organizations could not find suitable halls for their meetings and entertainments. They had either to content themselves with inadequate accommodations or else hold their meetings and entertainments in halls whose proprietors sold non-union beer.

This situation, so unfavorable to the prosecution of the boycott, was taken advantage of by the pool brewers, and they tried by the use of money to get the boycott raised by the central labor body of New York.

Since July, 1888, some members of the New York Central Labor Union had been advocating the suspension of the boycott. For the present they were unsuccessful, but a suspicion prevailed that paid agents of the brewery owners were at work among the delegates in order to effect the withdrawal of the boycott. In the fall of 1888 a delegate from Brewers' Union No. 1 was approached by a detective, who told him that he could earn from \$1,500 to \$2,500 if he would aid in getting the boycott raised. Being desirous of finding out who stood behind the detective, this delegate acted as if he intended to accept the proposition. He was taken to a secret service man of the city police, who informed him that there were fourteen other delegates in the Central Labor Union who had been won over for the purpose of raising the boycott. This matter, it was said, would be brought up in the Central Labor Union, and the delegate from Brewers' Union No. 1 would have nothing to do except to answer

in the affirmative the question whether it would not be possible to get places in the malthouses, whose season was about to begin, for a number of brewery workmen who had lost their jobs through the lockout. Thereupon the Central Labor Union would withdraw the boycott on the ground that such action was in the interest of the brewery workers. If this plan were successfully carried out the brewery workers' delegate would get his money.

Immediately after his first conversation with the detective, however, this delegate had informed the secretary of his union, Ernest Kurzenknabe, and these two had imparted the secret to a number of trusted members of organized labor in New York. It was arranged that Kurzenknabe should also be requested by the detective to aid in the withdrawal of the boycott. He likewise pretended that he was going into the scheme. He was paid several bribes by the detective, Von Gerichten, including \$600 at one time, and it was ascertained that the money came from A. E. Seifert, the secretary of the local Brewery Owners' Association.

Early in January, 1889, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* published an account of the whole conspiracy, with sworn statements of witnesses, and exposed the delegates in the Central Labor Union who had been involved in the affair. This gave rise to excited debates in the next meeting of the Central Labor Union. The delegates who had been exposed denied the charges, and the central body did not take any decisive steps to get rid of them. On February 18 it came to an open breach. The greater part of the unions affiliated with the Central Labor Union withdrew from it, especially the German organizations, and another central body was formed—the Central Labor Federation—which continued the boycott against pool beer. The brewery workmen's struggle had thus led to a disruption of the whole labor movement of New York.

Thus unsettled conditions in the general labor movement in New York had become an ever greater hindrance to the brewery workmen's struggle. But it now became worse than ever.

In the summer of 1891 a number of unions withdrew from the Central Labor Federation, under the leadership of the notorious Weissmann, and formed a third central body, which called itself the New York Federation of Labor. The Central Labor Federation demanded that its affiliated unions should refuse to recognize this third central body. Brewers' Union No. 1 declined to comply with this demand, as it did not wish to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, which had recognized the third central body. Thereupon Union No. 1 was expelled from the Central Labor Federation.

Opposition had been aroused in Brewers' Union No. 1 because of the recognition of a certain brewery in New Jersey as a union establishment, although not all branches of labor employed in it had insisted on union conditions. The Central Labor Federation of Brooklyn protested against this action, and the body in New York bearing the same name decided that henceforth every contract made with the brewery bosses would first have to be submitted to it for endorsement. Brewers' Union No. 1 declared itself against this decision and the *Brauer-Zeitung* took the same stand. Personal motives and rivalries of all sorts embittered these controversies. It even went so far that the Central Labor Federation resolved to form a union in opposition to Brewers' Union No. 1, composed in part of the discontented members of Union No. 1. The latter body expelled these members and demanded that all the union breweries with which it had contracts should discharge any workmen belonging to the opposition union, which called itself the Journeymen Brewers' Union of New York. Twelve workmen were discharged from Val.

Loewer's brewery in consequence of this affair, whereupon the Central Labor Federation declared a boycott against the product of Loewer's brewery. The New York section of the Socialist Labor Party, which was represented in the Central Labor Federation—a fact which had caused dissatisfaction in a number of unions—took the side of the new union of brewery workmen. As a result of this quarrel both the Central Labor Federation and the New York section of the Socialist Labor Party removed the boycott from pool beer. During all this confusion, Local Union No. 30 of the U. B. W., consisting of firemen in New York breweries, had adhered to the Central Labor Federation and withdrawn from the National Union of United Brewery Workmen. A few other locals of the United Brewery Workmen, among them the Ale and Porter Union No. 33, whose secretary was Ernst Bohm, also stood out against Local Union No. 1. As a result of this the Local Executive for New York was dissolved and reorganized. The opposition union had but little success and soon died out. But these antagonisms, involving both personalities and questions of principle and leading to the general disruption of the New York labor movement, greatly weakened the efforts of the New York brewery workers and for the time prevented the boycott against pool beer from having any effect. The personal controversies were so sharp that they led to several lawsuits in the capitalist courts.

In the year 1891 a body had been formed for the general direction of the brewery workmen's unions in Greater New York. This was called the United Local Executive, and was composed of delegates from the various local unions; seven unions were represented. This Local Executive was convinced that under the existing circumstances it was impossible to enforce the boycott against pool beer effectively, and accordingly it decided to declare

a special boycott against the largest brewery in New York, that of George Ehret. This special boycott was endorsed by all the larger labor organizations of the city, but for the time it did not yield any very encouraging results for the brewery workmen. The convention of the National Union in 1892 adopted a resolution for the vigorous prosecution of the boycott against Ehret, and at the same time it rebuked the Socialist movement in New York for its alleged failure to observe the boycott against pool beer.

By 1893 matters had improved but very slightly. At the national convention held in that year it was complained that in New York and its vicinity the boycott against Ehret's beer found but little support among the members of the American Federation of Labor. The delegates from New York therefore advised the renewal of connections with the Knights of Labor, so that they could get assistance from that Order in the fight against Ehret. This was not done at the time, but in the following year the brewery workmen's unions of New York joined the Order, so that during the years from 1894 to 1896 they belonged both to the American Federation of Labor and to the Order of the Knights of Labor; they had a label for their union product which combined the emblems of the Federation with those of the Knights of Labor.

About this time also the personal antagonisms were somewhat straightened out. At the convention of 1893 the local union of firemen, which had left the National Union in consequence of the strife in New York, asked to be reinstated. This request was referred to the National Executive. At this time, in 1894, Local Union No. 1 had about 150 members. It had contracts with nine brewing firms providing for union conditions. Besides these, there were a number of breweries, especially those which produced ale and porter, which were controlled by the Knights of Labor. It was difficult for members of Union

No. 1 to obtain employment in these breweries, as the Knights did not give equal recognition to the brewers belonging to the National Union. This condition was not remedied to any great extent even when the union brewery workmen in several cities, notably in New York, joined the Order of the Knights of Labor.

Not until 1896 did the boycotts against Ehret and against pool beer in general take a turn for the better, not so much through the support of organized labor in New York as through the assistance rendered by the workingmen of New England. The workingmen of Boston especially, and the Central Labor Union of that city, distinguished themselves by their energetic activity against pool beer. Ehret had to face a great loss of trade in all the New England states, where up to that time his product had found a good market. He was even compelled to give up most of his agencies in those states.

While outside of New York a turn for the better had now come, the situation in New York itself was again getting worse for the brewery workmen. Here in 1896 a new national labor organization, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was endorsed by the Socialist Labor Party. This led to new strife and antagonisms within the labor movement in New York, under which the brewery workmen suffered severely.

Brewers' Union No. 1, as well as the National Union of United Brewery Workmen, the New York Central Labor Union, and the executives of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, had made repeated attempts to bring the long struggle in New York to a close by negotiations with the Brewers' Pool. But all these attempts were in vain. Ehret and his colleagues refused to negotiate. The workingmen were therefore compelled to continue the struggle.

Toward the end of the nineties the situation in the

New York labor movement became somewhat more favorable for the brewery workmen. The Central Labor Union and the Central Labor Federation had again reunited. In the political labor movement there came a housecleaning in which those elements which were opposed to trade-unions were defeated. The high-license system which was introduced in the state of New York, as well as the Federal law imposing an increased war tax upon alcoholic drinks, diminished the consumption of brewed beverages. The effect of the boycott against Ehret's beer began to make itself felt with renewed vigor in the New England states. More vigorous competition by the union breweries in New York, as well as the improved condition of the general labor movement, increased the losses which the pool brewers had to suffer and inclined them toward negotiation. By 1901—that is, after a struggle lasting for thirteen years—the Brewers' Pool promised to enter into an agreement with their organized workmen. In Newark the brewery workmen at this time won a decided victory. The pool there was destroyed, and what the brewery workmen had lost since 1888 was regained. Local Union No. 2 of Newark closed a contract with all the breweries in the city, under the terms of which the wages of 1888 were restored—that is, from \$16 to \$18 a week. The membership of the union was thereby increased to 375.

When negotiations were started with the Brewers' Association or Pool in New York in 1901, Local Union No. 1 had grown to a membership of about 300, of which number 212 worked in union establishments and seventy-five in non-union breweries. With a membership averaging 125, this union had in the decade from 1890 to 1900 been able to raise not less than \$28,000 with which to wage war against the united capital of the brewery owners.

With so small a membership this was a remarkable achievement.

6. TERMINATION OF THE STRUGGLE IN NEW YORK AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

By 1901 the brewery owners of New York who had until this time maintained the lockout against union men had become tired of the long struggle and were ready for negotiations. But they held out firmly for every advantage which they thought they could gain and they made every effort to profit by the dissensions in the labor movement which arose from differences in organization, the trade organization on the one side and the industrial organization on the other. This was the reason why the negotiations between the brewery workers and brewery capitalists consumed almost an entire year. Finally, in May, 1902, a contract was closed for three years. With the exception of a few points which will be mentioned separately, this contract was identical with that which the brewery workers had until that time had with the union breweries, the owners of which, by the way, had formed an organization in the preceding year. The signing of this contract terminated a struggle between capital and labor which had lasted fourteen years and which had been as obstinate and as long as any conflict waged in any trade. The membership of Brewers' Union No. 1 increased after the closing of this contract to 900.

However, if this contract ended the fight with the enemy, it brought renewed dissension within the ranks of the union.

The contract which had been closed with the pool brewers contained certain provisions which were injurious to the interests of brewery workers in other cities, where conditions more favorable than those in New York had been obtained previously. The New York contract, for instance, provided for a ten-hour day, while in the vicinity of the city, the nine-hour day had been in part won. Furthermore, the contract certainly was disadvantageous to

the firemen's and engineers' unions which were connected with the brewery workers' organizations and to which not sufficient attention had been paid in making the contract.

Even while the negotiations for the contract were in progress disputes had arisen between the labor organizations in question. The central labor body of New York, the Central Federated Union, had entered the controversy and had demanded that the unions of engineers and firemen dissolve and join the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Engineers. But as the firemen and engineers which belonged to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen had better conditions than those of the trade organization, they rejected this proposition, and as a consequence all unions which were associated with the United Brewery Workmen were suspended from the Central Federated Union. But now the pool brewers in the course of their negotiations for a contract with the brewery workmen took up this matter. They demanded that their firemen and engineers remain ten hours at their work instead of the eight hours for which the firemen and engineers of the United Brewery Workmen stood. Unions 1 and 69 of the Brewery Workmen, as well as Ale and Porter Union No. 31 and Beer Drivers' Unions Nos. 23 and 24, consented to the plan of the brewery owners, while the unions of firemen and engineers within the United Brewery Workmen, and also Local Union No. 59, protested most vigorously. The controversy within the United Local Executive of Greater New York went so far that the unions last named were excluded from that body. Thus it happened that by closing the contract with the pool brewers they acted in accordance with the interests of the Stationary Firemen's and Engineers' Union and contrary to the interests of the unions of these workers within their own national organization. In all this the influence of the Central Federated Union and of the

American Federation of Labor, which had been brought into the dispute by Samuel Gompers, was strongly felt.

Local Union No. 59 had the following history: While the labor movement was at its height in 1886, the ale and porter brewers of New York had organized and had formed a local assembly of the Order of the Knights of Labor. On June 10 of that year an agreement was made that the working hours should be ten per day and the weekly wage from \$12 to \$18.

This new organization, which was called the Ale and Porter Employees' Protective Association, was composed chiefly of men of English and Irish origin. This organization was pretty hard on the employers and showed itself in general a good fighting body. Shortly after the great lockout in the lager beer breweries of New York, the united bosses of the ale and porter breweries thought that the time had come when they could free themselves from the "fetters" of the union. On November 27, 1888, they decided to lock out their workmen if these did not give up their organization. The members of the Protective Association declared themselves willing to comply with the wishes of their employers, and so the lockout did not take place. In spite of this, however, the workingmen remained true to their organization, which was not difficult for them to do, since they had been organized as a secret order.

Between the ale and porter workers, about 900 in number, and lager-beer workers, who had organized into the United Brewery Workmen, frequent disputes arose, which were based more on questions of jurisdiction than caused by national antagonism. It was quite natural that with the rapid development of the lager-beer industry, many breweries which previously had only manufactured ale and porter now took up lager beer as a side line or eventually devoted themselves entirely to the manufacture

of lager beer. The Protective Association naturally retained jurisdiction over such breweries, so that soon they had not only ale and porter brewers, but lager-beer brewers among their numbers. This condition was somewhat ameliorated when in the year 1900 the Protective Association left the declining Order of the Knights of Labor and was induced by two representatives of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen, Wood and Bechtold, to join this organization as Local Union No. 59.

This affiliation, however, did not put an end to all the disputes between Local Union No. 59 and the other brewery workers' organizations in New York, mostly composed of Germans. National antipathies played a certain part, but what counted for more than that was the fear of Union No. 59, that it would lose its dominion over the breweries which had hitherto been under its jurisdiction; all this made it hard for them to work together. At the convention of the United Brewery Workmen, held in Philadelphia in September, 1901, the delegates of Local Union No. 59 complained that the local autonomy which had been guaranteed to them when they joined the National Union was now threatened. These disputes were intensified by the fact that capitalist politicians had great influence within Union No. 59.

The President of Local Union No. 59, for instance, was a certain O'Connell, who at the same time had a political position as officer in the Supreme Court in Brooklyn. O'Connell was sent by his union as delegate to the convention of the National Union at Philadelphia. According to the constitution of the United Brewery Workmen no one could be elected to any office who did not work as brewer. As this was not the case with O'Connell, he was not seated as a delegate in the Philadelphia convention. Shortly after this, on December 13, 1901, the National Secretary sent a letter to Union No. 59, in which

he specifically drew their attention to the particular provision in the constitution, and requested them at the coming election to observe this rule and not to re-elect O'Connell. Union No. 59 declared that O'Connell had been rejected at Philadelphia for political reasons, because he had a political job, and they therefore did not pay any attention to the request of the National Executive.

When the closing of the contract with the pool brewers called out the protests of the brewery workers in Newark, Union Hill, Paterson, and further of the firemen and engineers in the National Union of United Brewery Workmen in New York, Union No. 59 took their part. A number of engineers and firemen in the breweries lost their employment as a result of these disputes between the various organizations. The demand of the National Executive of the United Brewery Workmen, as well as that of the American Federation of Labor, that these discharged men be reinstated, was met by Local Union No. 59 with the answer that neither the Central Labor Federation nor the American Federation of Labor could dictate to them. Because of the refusal to discharge engineers and firemen belonging to the International Firemen's Union, Local Union No. 59 declared a boycott against the beer of the F. & M. Schäfer Brewing Company and that of several other breweries, which had been recognized as union establishments by the National Union of United Brewery Workmen. A few days later this firm, as well as the secretary of the United Local Executive of the brewery workmen of New York, were served with an injunction, issued at the request of Local Union No. 59 by Justice Gaynor, of the same Supreme Court in which O'Connell, president of Local Union No. 59, was an officer. By this injunction the firms of F. & M. Schäfer, and also A. Hüpfel in New York, and Liebmann's Sons in Brooklyn, were forbidden to have the union label of the United

Brewery Workmen on their barrels, and the secretary of the United Local Executive was forbidden to provide such labels to these firms.

The Local Executive of New York suspended Local Union No. 59 from its delegate body on account of this procedure.

An uncertainty of position in regard to this matter on the part of the national administration of the United Brewery Workmen sharpened the disputes. On May 21 the closing of the New York contract was discussed in the National Executive and it was decided to grant to the secretary of the New York United Local Executive, E. Bohm, together with the brewers' committee, authority to make contracts with the Brewers' Pool for the brewers, beer drivers, engineers, and firemen. It was further decided to send a letter to Local Union No. 59 in which it would be indicated that they had no right to interfere in the matter of contracts. The secretary of the Brewers' Pool in New York, Warner, was informed that Bohm and the brewery workers' committee had authority to close contracts.

At this same meeting of the National Executive, delegates from Local Union No. 59 and the Newark Local Executive were present, who demanded a non-recognition of the contract which had been closed in New York.

It was decided to send a committee to New York which was to investigate the matter on the spot.

At the July meeting of the National Executive of the National Union, the New York matter was again brought up. It was decided on the first day to request Local Union No. 59 by telegram to remove the boycott which had in the meantime been declared against Schäfer and others by July 9, and to withdraw the injunctions which had been issued, if they did not want to be expelled from the National Union. Local Union No. 59 replied by

telegram, asking for another committee for the further investigation of the matter, but the National Executive insisted that its demand be first complied with. On July 12, 1902, the National Secretary wrote to Local Union No. 59 that they had been expelled from the National Union of United Brewery Workmen because they had failed to meet the request of the National Executive to withdraw the injunction and the boycott.

About the end of July and beginning of August an investigation committee of the Executive of the National Union was in New York, and its report led to the reinstatement of Local Union No. 59 in the United Brewery Workmen and to the temporary suspension of the Secretary of the United Local Executive of New York, E. Bohm, from membership in the National Union. The then editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung* took the part of Local Union No. 59, against which the other New York unions protested and demanded the removal of the editor, Trautmann. Then complaints were made by Local Union No. 59 and the engineers and firemen of the United Brewery Workmen in New York to the National Executive against the leading officers of the New York unions. These complaints were directed against Ernst Bohm, Chas. Pommer, Wm. Graven, Jakob Huber, and Peter Hoffmann.

The complaints were taken up by the National Executive at its meeting in October, 1902. The complaints accused the above-named men of having closed the contract with the pool brewers of New York without obtaining the consent of the United Local Executive, which was known to be split into two bodies. Furthermore, they were accused of having betrayed the members of the complaining unions, in that they had helped the Union Brewers' Association to close contracts with those unions of which the accused men were members, which contracts excluded the complaining unions, and had made an agree-

ment instead with the local unions of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

The endorsement of the pool contract, it was said, was obtained upon a false statement of facts. It was also alleged that the National Executive had been misled by false reports. These proceedings led to the expulsion of Bohm from the National Union of United Brewery Workmen.

In the meantime the matter of the New York contract had raised so much disturbance that a cry was beginning to be raised for a special convention for the adjustment of this matter. New York Union No. 1 and its friends advocated this special convention, which after having been decided upon by general vote, met on February 1, 1903, in Cincinnati.

Here a detailed report on the matter was submitted. The National Secretary declared that the contracts which had been made with the New York pool were not as favorable for the workingmen as those made by other unions; that Bohm and others had attempted at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, in a question of jurisdiction, to take the part of the Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers and Firemen and against the National Union of United Brewery Workmen; especially in the contracts as signed, the bosses had been permitted to discharge their workingmen whenever they pleased.

On the part of the accused it was pointed out that the National Executive itself had approved the contracts.

The convention came to the conclusion of endorsing the expulsion of Bohm by the National Executive and deciding to reinstate Local Union No. 59 into all its rights. All New York delegates from Local Unions Nos. 1, 23, 24, and 69 were thereupon admitted to representation at the regular convention which followed the special con-

vention, with the exception of Hoffmann, Graven, and Pommer. Bohm, being expelled from the National Union, could not exercise any authority.

Thus closed this by-play of the New York struggle.

7. ON FIRM GROUND.

The result of the New York struggle, as we have seen, brought partial disappointment, but it had its good side, as by the recognition of the union in the largest beer-producing city in the United States it put the United Brewery Workmen on firm ground. By this victory, after a struggle of fourteen years, the organization had secured its existence and compelled recognition by the brewery capitalists. After the conclusion of this struggle it was impossible for them to destroy the organization, or even to attempt to do so.

At the convention of 1903, which followed the special convention, the secretary could already report that the number of members had grown to over 31,000, who were organized in 317 locals and 121 branches. As the chief centers of the industry had already been organized the union's further growth was rather slow. In the following year, when the convention met in Indianapolis, the national organization had 33,000 members; but in 1906, only two years later, at the convention of Toronto, the membership had already grown to 38,000, distributed in 373 local unions and 176 branches. At the last convention, held in September, 1908, in New York, the membership of the brewery workers' organization had grown to 42,570, including the unemployed. The number of local unions was 373 and of branches 180. In the fall of 1909 the officers of the Executive could report that the number of members in the organization had grown to 45,233, who were organized in 366 local unions and 187 branches. On July 1, 1909, these were distributed as follows: Brewers, 14,160;

apprentices, 478; maltsters, 2,070; coopers, 266; beer drivers, 14,126; bottlers, 9,759; engineers, 1,573; firemen, 1,512; laborers, 1,087; and distillery workers, 202.

Hand in hand with the increase in the membership went the increase in the treasury of the organization and its financial resources were strengthened.

The financial status of the organization was revealed by stately rows of figures at the last few conventions. In 1887 the income did not quite reach \$5,000, and by 1891 it had amounted to over \$10,000, in 1893 over \$20,000, and by 1896 the income was more than \$50,000. In 1901 the hundred thousand mark was passed, and 1903, with an extra assessment of \$166,000, showed the highest income of the organization, with \$304,986.70. At the convention of 1908 the yearly income was stated as \$213,538.02.

With the increase in income, the balance in the treasury increased. In the year 1889 there was scarcely \$300 available for the organization; by 1893 this had risen to somewhat over \$6,000, but in the following year it went down again to \$500. From that time on the wealth of the organization increased steadily; in 1897 it amounted to a round \$15,000, in 1900 to almost \$50,000. In the four following years up to 1904 it grew to \$164,357.40, and by 1908 it amounted to \$366,192.66. Out of the income a round half million dollars was spent for support of strikers and about a quarter of a million for agitation. The total income of the organization from its foundation until the seventeenth convention, in September, 1908, amounted to \$1,600,000; the expenditures to somewhat over \$1,235,000.

Of the struggles which the United Brewery Workmen had to carry on within the last few years, those which took place in 1902 in Cincinnati and Boston must be mentioned especially. The former cost the organization about \$84,000, the latter about \$91,000. In the following years larger strikes broke out in Columbus, Ohio, and Toronto,

Canada, both of which ended in victory for the brewery workers, although in Columbus they were attacked by trade organizations which had the American Federation of Labor behind them. On the first of May, 1905, a strike broke out in Seattle and several other cities of the state of Washington; this strike lasted until November, 1905, and ended with the defeat of the workingmen. This strike, which had been declared without the consent of the national administration, involved it in a cost of \$70,000.

On the first of June, 1907, a struggle broke out in New Orleans, and in March of the same year in St. Louis—two struggles which are of great interest on account of the accompanying circumstances. In New Orleans the struggle began with the lockout of the workingmen of the Columbus Brewery, which the workingmen of other breweries answered with a strike. The strike cost the organization about \$50,000 without anything being achieved. The affair in New Orleans became especially complicated on account of disputes in regard to jurisdiction, about which we shall hear later and in which the Federation of Labor played an ugly part.

In St. Louis the local unions of the United Brewery Workmen had bought their own hall, and here again was shown the truth of the statement that the possession of real estate is a source of strife for a labor organization. The secretary of Beer Drivers' Union No. 43 of St. Louis, A. Priestersbach, was superintendent of the hall. He misused his position to exercise a power in the organization which did not belong to him. He acted in combination with the brewery owners in order to get their assistance against the majority of the members. When the administration of the National Union tried to settle the disputes, he attempted to defeat this by the use of court injunction. Hundreds of members of the organization were simply declared expelled by Priestersbach. The

brewery owners worked hand in hand with Priestersbach. They declared that they had made contracts with Priestersbach, not with the organization—a warning that in making an agreement not too much power ought to be placed in the hands of individual persons. On March 12 the brewery owners offered an ultimatum to their workmen to the effect that they were to join Priestersbach's organization within twenty-four hours or be discharged. On the following day over 500 beer drivers were discharged and their places were immediately taken by men whom Priestersbach had ready. During the following twenty-four hours 900 brewers and bottlers were discharged who had refused to work with Priestersbach's men. Proposals for negotiations were peremptorily rejected by the brewery owners, and on March 16 more than 3,000 brewery workers of St. Louis went on strike.

The fight lasted two weeks and cost the organization \$40,000 for the support of the strikers. A settlement was then made on the basis of the existing contracts. Mr. Priestersbach had played out his role, but the controversies which he stirred up had their influence for a long time to come in the brewery workers' organization of St. Louis. At any rate, the brewery capitalists had learned in this struggle that it is useless for them to try to depend on individual members of the labor organizations for their purpose. The United Brewery Workmen had attained sufficient strength to be able to cope with the treacherous machinations of such persons and their connection with the brewery capitalists.

The conventions of the United Brewery Workmen since 1900 naturally showed an increase in the number of delegates. At Cincinnati in 1903 only 103 delegates were present; at Indianapolis in 1904 there were already 131. At the convention in Toronto in 1906 there were 142 delegates, and this number had increased to 154 at

the last convention, held in New York in 1908. As officers during these years there were elected by general vote in 1903, Zorn, Proebstle and K  mper as secretaries, and Trautmann as editor. In the following year Adam H  bner took the place of Zorn, who declined re-election; the other officers were re-elected. At the convention in Toronto the secretaries were re-elected and Gustav Mostler was made editor of the *Brauer-Zeitung*. Trautmann had left the organization, and J. P. Weigel, who had taken his place, had died soon after taking the office. At the New York convention all the officers of the organization were re-elected.

CHAPTER VII.

The American Federation of Labor and the Brewery Workers.

1. FOUNDING OF THE FEDERATION.

AT a labor congress which was held at Baltimore in August, 1866, the first general national labor organization of the United States was created—leaving out of consideration some attempts toward this end which had been made in the thirties of the last century. The National Labor Union, which was founded at Baltimore, was but a loosely united organization. A few of its leaders, it is true, far surpassed the later leaders of the American labor movement in their insight into the nature of the class struggle, but the general movement was too little developed for the new organization to have any very great success. Annual conventions were held until 1872, but without producing any lasting results. Especially detrimental to the organization was its connection with the farmer element, who introduced all kinds of bourgeois-reform demands, and particularly the demand for money reform, and thereby diluted the labor movement.

The last convention of the National Labor Union was held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1872. In the following year came the great financial crisis all over the country, which wiped out nearly all labor organizations or weakened them to such an extent that they hardly retained any significance. In April, 1874, an Industrial Congress met at Rochester, N. Y., in which, besides a number of trade unions, there were represented a great number of secret labor orders which were everywhere springing up at that time. This Industrial Congress had but little success. The time was exceedingly unfavorable for a labor move-

ment, as the after effects of the crisis of 1873 were still strongly felt.

Even in the following years a revival of the labor movement was hardly to be thought of, though at that time a series of secret labor orders were developing, of which only the Knights of Labor achieved any importance. But in 1877, when the great railway strike agitated the entire United States, things became a little more lively in the general labor movement. Toward the end of the seventies trade unions were formed in all quarters, and the organizations already in existence won new strength, the secret as well as the open unions.

In 1878 a number of members had severed their connection with the Knights of Labor and had formed the Amalgamated Labor Union. In conjunction with another secret organization called the Knights of Industry, they issued an appeal which called a labor convention to take place at Terre Haute, Ind., on August 2, 1881. This convention was to call into life another secret order in competition with that of the Knights of Labor. This plan was frustrated because the delegates present from the open unions, a large proportion of whom were also members of the Knights of Labor, prevented its consummation.

This convention called for another assemblage of labor delegates to meet at Pittsburg on November 19, 1881. On the day fixed, 107 delegates met there, representing 262,000 organized workingmen. The convention was presided over by John Jerrett, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, and it was decided to form a national organization of all workingmen, which was to be called the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. Open unions as well as assemblies of the Knights of Labor were represented in this organization, and it was intended to work hand in hand for the best interests of

the whole body of organized labor. Independence was guaranteed to both forms of labor organization, but it was agreed as far as possible to prevent the formation of further national organizations of workingmen outside the Knights of Labor and the open unions.

A number of political demands were made—for example, compulsory schooling for children, prohibition of child labor in factories, restriction of prison labor, repeal of conspiracy laws, and others along similar lines. The chief demand, however, was for the Eight-Hour Law, and it was also emphasized that the working class must be represented in all legislative bodies in order to pass laws which would be of benefit to the working people. Steps were also taken toward establishing a connection between American, English, and French workingmen, but this came to nothing.

At the Pittsburg convention a committee was elected which was to get into connection with Congress at Washington. This Legislative Committee induced Congress to institute a thorough inquiry into the conditions of labor in the United States.

The second convention of the Federation took place at Cleveland in November, 1882, and here Samuel Gompers was for the first time elected permanent presiding officer of the Federation. Already at this convention certain jealousies between the Knights and the open unions were to be observed, which later grew more acute, and finally developed into open hostilities. At the convention of 1883, which met in New York in the month of August, Samuel Gompers was re-elected.

The following convention of the Federation, which was held at Chicago in October, 1884, was an important one. Here the necessary steps were discussed for the general agitation for an eight-hour day, and the first of May, 1886, was fixed as the time for its introduction; but each organi-

zation was to decide for itself whether or not it would take up the fight. Among the organizations which had decided for the introduction of the eight-hour day, the lead was taken by the German unions and those unions whose membership was largely permeated by German workingmen, such as the cigar makers, the cabinet makers, the German compositors, and the carpenters. The cigar makers and the German compositors, it may be stated here, carried their eight-hour demand into effect. The cabinet makers won a nine-hour day, while the carpenters gained an eight-hour day in seven cities and a nine-hour day in eighty-four places.

The next convention of the Federation met at Washington in 1885, and the one for 1886 was originally called for the end of the year at St. Louis. However, the exciting events in the labor movement during that year necessitated a conference of the officers of the trade unions, which was held in May, 1886, and at which the differences with the Knights of Labor were particularly discussed. It was there agreed to call a new convention at Columbus, Ohio, to which all the trade unions of the country were especially invited. Here the former Federation was dissolved, and in its place the American Federation of Labor was organized, the same body which still exists today, and which has grown to be the strongest labor organization in the country.

2. THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR AND THE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The National Union of United Brewery Workmen soon after its formation in 1886 had applied to the Executive of the American Federation of Labor for a charter from this league of labor organizations. This charter was granted and was issued on March 4, 1887.

Now, as we have seen, a large proportion of the

brewers' unions had been organized by the Order of the Knights of Labor, and a good part of the local unions still belonged to that Order when their national organization received its charter from the Federation. It was, therefore, inevitable that in the competitive struggle which developed between the Knights of Labor and the Federation, the brewery workmen would be exposed to all kinds of strife and injury.

It was in the nature of the brewers' movement that they should count on support from all sections of organized labor. More than most other trades, the brewery workers had to depend in their struggles upon the assistance of the whole body of organized workingmen. Their best weapon, the boycott, could be handled effectively only if all workingmen agreed to and helped in it. The division of the labor movement into two strong factions such as the Knights of Labor and the Federation, which moreover fought against each other, was certain to be especially detrimental to the organization of the brewery workmen.

The organization of the Federation in open instead of secret unions undoubtedly represented the more progressive principle, and besides this the Order of the Knights of Labor declined rapidly after 1886, while the Federation of Labor was in the ascendant. Furthermore, certain temperance ideas had taken root in the Knights of Labor, with which the brewery workers showed but little sympathy, all the less as their interests were involved. Controversies soon arose, therefore, between the brewery workmen and the Knights of Labor, although, as already mentioned, the latter had assisted materially in the organization of the brewery workers.

Already at the third convention of the United Brewery Workmen, held at Chicago in 1888, the antagonism between the Knights of Labor and the Brewery Workmen had found expression. By that time the National

Union was composed mostly of open unions. But the resolutions passed in regard to the Knights of Labor dealt less with the question of open or secret organization than with the question of temperance. The following resolution was passed at this convention :

"WHEREAS, T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Order of the Knights of Labor, has used certain expressions in a recent speech which prove that he has temperance tendencies; and

"WHEREAS, The General Executive has supported the General Master Workman in this respect; and

"WHEREAS, Even the constitution of the Knights of Labor contains a clause which excludes organizations whose members earn their living by the manufacture of alcoholic drinks; and

"WHEREAS, The enactment of temperance laws would threaten the existence of thousands of brewery workers and their families and would cause the government to lose an annual revenue of millions of dollars; and

"WHEREAS, The Order of the Knights of Labor has not supported us in any way and we cannot point to any victory in our struggle against capital which has been won through the assistance of the Knights of Labor; be it

"Resolved, That we, the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States, condemn the action of General Master Workman Powderly as detrimental to the emancipation of our brothers and co-workers in the brewery trade; and further be it

"Resolved, That in politics we pledge ourselves not to support any candidate, no matter of which party, for any political office, if he does not publicly express himself against prohibition."

At the same convention it was decided that such local unions of the United Brewery Workmen as still belonged to the Knights of Labor might act according to their own judgment if local conditions should compel them to maintain their membership in the Order. It was added, however, that the open unions should keep away from the Knights until conditions within the Order had improved.

In spite of the declaration against the Knights of Labor, accordingly a number of local brewers' unions were represented in the Order even after the Chicago conven-

tion. In the succeeding years the attitude even changed in favor of the Knights of Labor, as the latter rendered the United Brewery Workmen considerable assistance in the boycott against Anheuser-Busch, especially in the South, while the Federation remained very lukewarm. At the convention held at Buffalo, in 1892, a resolution was introduced by Chas. F. Bechtold, which was referred to general vote and for final action to the National Executive, and which dealt with the relations of the brewery workmen to the Knights of Labor and to the Federation. In this resolution it was pointed out that the brewery workers especially required the support of all workingmen in their struggles. The constant friction between the two great national organizations of workingmen had a detrimental influence upon the whole labor movement. The brewers, therefore, requested the two organizations to act in unison. It was further declared that the brewers had to protect themselves against the danger that in their struggles and boycotts the bosses would play off the Federation and the Knights of Labor against each other, and it was finally recommended "That our organization at the same time form a National Trade District within the Knights of Labor, so that each local union in case of a struggle may enjoy the support of both the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor."

The general vote of the members of the National Union upon this question, which had been ordered by the convention, resulted in a great majority in favor of forming a National Trade District of the Knights of Labor. This proceeding, however, did not please the leaders of the Federation of Labor, and they even resorted to the threat that they would injure the interests of the brewery workers in the event of the proposed plan being carried out.

The Executive of the Knights of Labor also met the brewery workers' plan only half-heartedly. They declared

that if the brewery workers wanted to join the Order in a body they must first give up their charter in the Federation. Later, however, they changed their attitude. The Executive of the Order decided that the United Brewery Workmen could at the same time be a Trade District of the Knights of Labor and a National Union of the Federation—which, indeed, had previously been conceded to other national organizations by both parties, as, for instance, to the mine workers.

At the brewers' convention, held at Milwaukee in 1893, the matter was decided. It was resolved that the National Union should join the Knights of Labor as a Trade District.

A considerable part of the local unions of the United Brewery Workmen now got together, and, as National Trade District No. 35, constituted themselves a part of the Knights of Labor. However, the decision of the Milwaukee convention was never carried out in full. The entire organization as such never belonged to the Knights of Labor, though a large part of its local unions did, especially those in the East. Chas. F. Bechtold acted as Master Workman of the Order, while E. Kurzenknabe was secretary of the brewers' division of the Order. Moreover, not all of the brewery workers' organizations which belonged to the Knights of Labor were part of National Trade District No. 35. The latter was composed only of such brewery workers' organizations as also belonged to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen.

Soon after this plan was carried out, complaints began to arise that since the connection with the Knights of Labor more friction and dissension prevailed in the local unions than before. The local assemblies of brewers which did not belong to the National Union did not care for their newly acquired brothers, but very often fought them. The membership cards of the brewers' unions were often not recognized by the Knights of Labor. Occasionally district

assemblies of the Knights refused charters to brewers' unions as long as these remained in affiliation with the Federation of Labor. The leading persons in these districts protested against the formation of the brewery workers into National Trade District No. 35, because they wished to retain them in their respective districts. Such dissensions were even carried to the point of a mutual boycott.

In short, friction and strife of all kinds arose, which proved that the United Brewery Workmen had made a mistake when they decided to affiliate with both of the general organizations.

At the convention of the National Union which met at Cleveland in 1894 these disputes were considered, and it was decided to instruct the delegates to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor that in that assembly they should seek to have National Trade District No. 35 granted entire control over all the brewery workers in the country. At the same time the connection with the Knights of Labor was somewhat relaxed, as each local union was again declared free to belong to the Order or not, as it might see fit. The Federation of Labor was also requested to organize the brewery workers into open unions in the New England States, where the brewers' organizations at this time belonged almost entirely to the Knights.

The administration of the Federation of Labor now considered that the time had come for it to take up an open fight against the Knights of Labor, so far as the brewery workers were concerned. The connection of the local brewers' unions with the Order of the Knights of Labor was taken by many organizations of the Federation as a ground for not supporting the United Brewery Workmen in their struggles. On the same ground the Federation of Labor refused to endorse the brewers' union

label, which at that time contained the emblems both of the Knights and of the Federation. The Federation refused to support a brewers' boycott in Pittsburg until the National Union should give up its connection with the Knights of Labor. Finally the Federation put before the United Brewery Workmen in their convention at Cincinnati in 1896 the alternative either to dissolve National Trade District No. 35 of the Knights of Labor or else to be suspended from the Federation.

At this convention it was declared that to refuse compliance with the demand of the Federation "would bring us into conflict with all the larger trade unions of the country, which would result in the ruin of our National Union."

The demand of the Federation was, therefore, acceded to, and National Trade District No. 35 was dissolved, with the following explanation: "While we regret that the convention of the American Federation of Labor has decided upon such a severe resolution, we must submit to circumstances and must request our local unions which form District No. 35 to dissolve that district."

Herewith the connection of the National Union of United Brewery Workmen with the Knights of Labor was severed, and the Order now rapidly declined. The open unions which, under the control of the American Federation of Labor, had so far kept away from the National Union now joined it, and gradually they succeeded in bringing in the still existing brewers' assemblies of the Knights of Labor. Through this the National Union lost its original purely German character, as these new elements were composed almost entirely of English-speaking workmen. Certain national and personal antagonisms continued for some time within the National Union, and indeed led to open fights, until finally an agreement was reached in the recognition that the workingmen of all

nationalities had one and the same interest and the same ultimate goal.

3. JURISDICTION DISPUTES.

When, in 1887, the American Federation of Labor granted a charter to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen, the latter was authorized, according to the wording of the charter, "To proceed with the organization of the trade and to admit any person or persons to membership, in accordance with its existing laws, and to conduct the affairs of the union in accordance with the interests of the trade."

The administration of the National Union had acted in harmony with this provision and had tried to organize all workingmen, no matter to which particular trade they belonged, so long as they were employed in the brewing industry.

In the very beginnings of the union it had become evident that, in view of the special character of the industry, the only practicable and effective organization of brewery workers would be one which embraced all the workingmen in the industry—that is, an industrial organization, not merely a trade organization, which would divide the workingmen of the industry into various unions. Already in the second convention of the National Union at Detroit in 1887, the National Secretary said in his report: "The chief factor is the uniting of all trades employed in the brewing industry. Experience in our struggles has taught us what solidarity means. "If the drivers, the coopers, the engineers, the firemen, the maltsters, had helped us, our victory would have been assured within twenty-four hours—that is what is being said everywhere, and it is correct. Not only are the brewers dependent upon these branches; no, each one is dependent upon the others. Solidarity, man for man from roof to cellar, all for each and each for all—this alone can secure our future."

Following out this declaration, which the convention adopted as its own, the Executive of the National Union was constituted of men belonging to all the branches of labor in the brewing industry. Five brewers, two beer drivers, two maltsters, one engineer, and one fireman were elected. Later, at the Philadelphia convention, the bottlers were given representation in the Executive, and by enlarging the Executive provision was made that in future all branches of the industry should so far as possible be represented in the administration of the National Union.

It was clear that this composition of the National Union would be detrimental to certain trade organizations, as workingmen who would otherwise have joined the unions of their special trades now held to the United Brewery Workmen. This first expressed itself in the case of the coopers, who in 1896, at the brewers' convention in Cincinnati, demanded that all coopers employed in breweries should leave the United Brewery Workmen and join the coopers' union. The brewery workers' convention evaded an immediate decision of the question by declaring that their National Union would do all in its power to help the coopers in their work of organization. Before this, at the Buffalo convention in 1892, the brewers had decided that all coopers doing brewery work must be members of the United Brewery Workmen, and also that all coopers in cities where no coopers' union existed might join the brewery workers' organization. The National Union of United Brewery Workmen, however, was not to issue charters to coopers' unions.

Down to 1896 it was only with regard to the coopers that the United Brewery Workmen had to dispute with other organizations, but at that time the matter became more complicated. In 1896 the engineers and in 1898 the firemen received a charter from the American Federation of Labor, under which they each formed their own national

union. In addition to these came the teamsters, who in 1898 also organized into a national union. All these trade organizations now came to the National Union of United Brewery Workmen and called upon it to turn over to their respective national trade organizations such of its members as were employed at these particular branches of work—the beer drivers to the teamsters' union, the brewery firemen and engineers to the firemen's and engineers' unions.

In the convention of the Federation of Labor at Kansas City in 1898, the national union of engineers laid claim to those members of the brewers' organization who were employed in running engines in breweries. The coopers had in the meantime also revived their old claims. At the St. Louis convention of the brewery workers in 1899 the National Secretary, in his report, recommended that a general vote be taken among the engineers, the firemen, and the teamsters in the National Union of United Brewery Workmen on the question whether they desired to remain in that organization or to join the unions of their respective trades. The convention rejected the proposition. In support of this refusal it was pointed out that to split up the United Brewery Workmen into different trade organizations would give the brewery owners the longed-for opportunity to play off one portion of the workingmen against another. The door would be opened to all kinds of corruption, as experience had already taught.

At the next year's convention in Detroit it was reported that no better understanding with the firemen's and engineers' unions had been reached. In St. Louis, Buffalo, and elsewhere, attempts had been made by these unions to disrupt the local unions of the brewery workmen. The jurisdiction disputes had already been made use of by large brewery owners to obtain a separate charter for the beer bottlers, and thus to get an entering wedge into the

United Brewery Workmen. This proceeding, however, had been defeated by the resistance of the brewery workers.

It is manifest that it was of great advantage to the brewery owners to split up the brewery workers into different trade organizations, and we may, therefore, assume the truth of the report made to the brewers' convention at Philadelphia in 1901 that there existed proofs that certain officials of local unions of engineers and firemen had joined with brewery owners in order to injure the United Brewery Workmen. It was reported from Cincinnati that difficulties had been experienced in closing a contract of the beer drivers' union because the International Association of Teamsters had acted with the brewery capitalists and made a contract with them, although it had not a single beer driver among its members. Even Gompers, who was by no means well disposed toward the United Brewery Workmen, had to admit that the action of the teamsters' union was unworthy.

At the following convention complaints were frequently made in regard to the conduct of the rival trade unions. In some cases they succeeded in alienating some of the local unions from the United Brewery Workmen; this was the case with the engineers in New England and with the beer drivers in Chicago. The National Union did not suffer very great injury, but it was forced into severe struggles on account of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor, which by taking the part of the trade organizations compelled the brewery workers to make sacrifices of money and energy which would have been far better spent in the interest of the general labor movement.

4. ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE FEDERATION AND THE BREWERS.

The jurisdiction disputes between the United Brewery Workmen and the trade organizations of teamsters,

coopers, engineers, and firemen were naturally brought before the annual meetings of the American Federation of Labor. In the decisions of this body the general interest of the labor movement ought to have been the decisive considerations, but instead of that favoritism and personal matters were often taken into account and as a rule a stand was taken against the brewery workers' organization.

At the convention of the Federation which was held at Louisville toward the end of the year 1900 a resolution was adopted in regard to the jurisdiction controversy in which it was declared that it would seem to be to the best interest of the labor movement for the United Brewery Workmen to have jurisdiction over all workingmen in the breweries. But as the execution of this decision would be detrimental to the newly organized trade unions, exception was made in regard to coopers working on repairs and new work in the breweries; these were to belong to the International Coopers' Union. Painters employed in the breweries were also to belong to their trade organization, and engineers, firemen, and other workers who belonged to their respective trade unions and were employed in breweries were to retain the right to remain at their work until they should decide to join the United Brewery Workmen.

The beer drivers, on the other hand, were turned over to the United Brewery Workmen without any reservation; and on the whole it was recommended that the various organizations concerned should make a settlement by the exchange of cards.

The decision made in Louisville was ambiguous, but at any rate it declared that it was in the interest of the entire movement for the United Brewery Workmen to have jurisdiction over all workingmen in the brewing industry. The Federation convention held the next year at Scranton confirmed the Louisville resolution, and at

the same time instructed the Federation Executive to regulate the disputes among the five unions concerned within ninety days.

The Executive of the Federation proceeded to this task by first requesting that the United Brewery Workmen withdraw all the charters which it had issued to firemen's and engineers' unions since the Louisville convention, as according to the decision then made the firemen and engineers were to belong to the brewery workers' organization as individuals and not as unions. In cases where no locals of the respective trade unions existed, members of these trades might belong to the United Brewery Workmen, but not otherwise.

The Executive of the United Brewery Workmen did not at once submit to this decision, but brought the matter before the convention of the Federation, which was held in November, 1902, at New Orleans. Here all the details of the case were brought out. It was pointed out that the attitude of the trade unions and of the Federation Executive against the United Brewery Workmen had led to a lockout of 1,200 members of the brewers' organization in Cincinnati, and that also in other places the employers were seeking to take advantage of the disagreements within the camp of labor. Some brewery owners had openly boasted that they would soon get at the United Brewery Workmen by means of these jurisdiction disputes and with the aid of members of labor organizations.

But the presentation of all these facts did not help the brewery workers. The Federation convention took a stand against them, and declared that the engineers' and firemen's unions which belonged to the United Brewery Workmen must give up their charters and join their trade unions, conditionally upon the consent of the brewery workers' convention. The engineers' and firemen's unions of the United Brewery Workmen at the following con-

vention of that body protested against the decision of the Federation convention. Negotiations were next begun between the representatives of the brewers, the engineers, the firemen, and the Federation of Labor. These negotiations led to an agreement by which the unions of firemen and engineers in the brewers' organization were to be turned over to their respective trade unions and the relations between the different organizations were to be regulated by local conferences. This agreement was rejected by the convention of the United Brewery Workmen in Cincinnati. This convention passed a resolution consenting that the engineers and firemen in the brewery workers' organization should be turned over to their trade unions, on condition that the Federation of Labor should decide that all the firemen and engineers in all the labor organizations affiliated with the Federation should be turned over to the firemen's and engineers' trade unions. This did not alter the situation, for the other organizations, especially the United Mine Workers, energetically protested against turning over their engineers and firemen to the trade unions.

In the course of the following year the situation as to jurisdiction disputes changed but little. The firemen's and engineers' unions continued their attacks upon the United Brewery Workmen and attempted to induce the firemen and engineers to desert that body, though with little success. In accordance with the resolution of the Cincinnati convention, the authorities of the United Brewery Workmen refused to give up their jurisdiction over brewery firemen and engineers. Conferences of all kinds were held for the purpose of arranging the disputes. The brewers were threatened with a revocation of their charter by the Federation. The latter body, at its convention in Boston, reaffirmed the resolutions it had adopted at New Orleans.

The organizations of firemen and engineers were joined in their attacks by the coopers, and the teamsters' union in its convention, held in 1904 at Cincinnati, decided to demand that the United Brewery Workmen turn over to it all beer drivers now belonging to the brewery workers' organization. This question of the beer drivers was for the United Brewery Workmen the most important of all the jurisdiction disputes. Not less than 10,000 beer drivers belonged to the brewery workers' organization, and they had obtained far more favorable conditions than the teamsters' trade union had procured for its members. This assured to the United Brewery Workmen the support of the beer drivers, and when the matter was brought to a general vote it was declared by a vote of 34,612 against 367 that the National Union of United Brewery Workmen would not relinquish its jurisdiction over any portion of the workingmen belonging to that organization.

This was the state of affairs when, toward the end of the year 1906, the convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Minneapolis. Through the influence of the delegates from the firemen's, engineers', coopers', and teamsters' trade unions and their friends, a resolution was passed at this convention providing that the United Brewery Workmen must submit within ninety days to the decision of the American Federation of Labor in regard to jurisdiction over firemen, engineers, and drivers employed in the breweries, under penalty of having its charter withdrawn by the Federation.

After the result of the general vote within the National Union, submission by the brewery workers was naturally not to be thought of. On June 1, 1907, the Executive of the American Federation of Labor declared the charter of the United Brewery Workmen revoked. The brewers were now outside the Federation of Labor. Thereby the brewery workers were also excluded from the more than

five hundred local central labor bodies affiliated with the Federation of Labor.

The brewers' Executive, immediately after their exclusion, issued a statement in which, among other things, they said:

"The brewery workers have not demanded anything more than was conceded to the organizations of coal miners, of longshoremen and seamen, and other organizations; the unions named demand for their membership the engineers and firemen employed in the mines, on the docks, and on the ships on rivers, lakes, and ocean.

"As jurisdiction is granted to the organizations named over all the workingmen employed in their respective industries, and this right of jurisdiction is denied to us, we maintain that the proceedings against our National Union of United Brewery Workmen are acts of class legislation, and that they deprive our National Union of its guaranteed rights, privileges, and autonomy."

The action of the Federation Executive met everywhere with adverse criticism. In all centers of the labor movement the progressive portion of the working class declared themselves in favor of the brewery workers. Several conferences of union representatives were held which emphatically protested against the exclusion of the brewers, and the matter was taken up again at the next convention of the Federation, which took place at Norfolk in 1907. It found itself forced to reconsider the decisions of former conventions relating to jurisdiction in the brewery industry and instructed the Executive of the Federation to make renewed efforts to settle the disputes within sixty days.

These renewed negotiations were concluded in February, 1908, and resulted in the restoration to the United Brewery Workmen of their old charter in the American Federation of Labor and in the declaration that they were to have jurisdiction over all workingmen employed in the brewing industry.

Thus the jurisdiction question was settled in principle, but this was far from ending the actual strife. On the contrary, the trade unions concerned continued to do all in their power to injure the brewers' organization. Consequently severe struggles arose in Providence, in Pittsburg, and especially in New Orleans, which put a heavy drain upon the strength and resources of the United Brewery Workmen. In New Orleans the struggle lasted more than a year. In that city there existed a union of beer drivers belonging to the United Brewery Workmen. The officers of the teamsters' union were not deterred by this fact from organizing a new local union, which then offered its men to the brewery owners at lower wages. The members of the old beer drivers' union were thus forced out of their places, which caused a general strike of brewery workers in New Orleans. This strike was lost. When the brewers' organization was again admitted to the Federation of Labor, the brewers' unions of New Orleans naturally applied for readmission to the central labor body of that city. This was at first denied to Beer Drivers' Union No. 215, which belonged to the United Brewery Workmen, but later they were admitted. Officers of the American Federation of Labor played anything but a good role in these disputes.

In Pittsburg these jurisdiction disputes took on a legal aspect. The trade unions brought actions against officers of the local brewers' unions for perjury and also instituted damage suits against them. These were all results of the fact that the interests of the narrower trade circles, and even personal advantages, were put above the welfare of the whole, the general labor movement.

The jurisdiction disputes and the injurious manner in which they were often conducted fill one of the ugliest pages in the history of the American labor movement.

5. INDUSTRIAL OR TRADE ORGANIZATION.

The question of the form of organization, as we have seen, plays an important part in the labor movement. It is a source of innumerable internal disputes, which the employers use to their own advantage; and furthermore, it brings bitterness and dissension into the ranks of organized labor.

In the building up of a labor organization, of course, the important point is as far as possible to get together into one organization all those workingmen who, in case of struggle with the employers, could replace each other—that is, who could eventually perform each other's work—in order that they may act together for mutual advantage. This can be done in two ways. In one case the workingmen are organized according to their trade—as, for instance, the carpenters, the smiths, the teamsters, the engineers, etc.; in the other case labor organizations are formed which embrace all the workingmen of any given industry—as, for instance, all the metal workers, all the wood workers, all the leather workers, etc. The first kind is called trade or craft organization; the second kind, industrial organization. A variety of the industrial organization, and that which is best known in the United States, includes all the workingmen of any given industry regardless of the kind of work they do. Examples of this kind of industrial organization are the unions of the brewery workmen, the mine workers, the longshoremen, and others.

These two forms of labor organization naturally cause frequent conflicts among the unions over the limits of their respective organizations, as to whether the workingmen of a given trade should belong to the union of their respective craft or to the union of the industry in which they are employed. Thus, it is in the interest of the trade unions of teamsters, engineers, and coopers to draw all the workingmen of these trades into their respective

organizations—even those, for instance, who have already been organized in the industrial unions of the brewery workmen, the mine workers, etc. On the other hand, the industrial organizations of brewery workmen, mine workers, etc., find their interest in having all the workingmen in their industries, including the teamsters, engineers, etc., in their organization—indeed, this is often a matter of life and death for them. Thus conflicts often arise which have a very injurious effect, especially if the persons at the head of the organizations put their personal interests, which of course are often identical with the growth and interests of their respective organizations, above the interests of the general labor movement. This is a reason, by the way, why the responsible positions in the labor-union movement should be filled only by persons to whom the general labor movement with its progressive tendencies of international unity and solidarity is not an unknown quantity.

It will be seen, then, that the question between industrial organization and trade organization is not so easy of solution as many persons imagine. The simple assertions that industrial organization is the progressive form or that the workingmen can be more easily organized in trade unions prove but little. From a practical point of view the question which of these forms of organization is to be preferred is extremely complicated. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a solution acceptable to all sides.

First of all it must be emphasized that it is not correct to assert that industrial organization is in principle the form of organization of the future. The question of the form of labor organization is not one of principle, but of expediency. Its solution is not to be determined by fixed fundamental principles, but is prescribed by the development of the various industries. Each case must, therefore, be decided by itself. A general decision that this section

of workmen is to belong to the trade union and that one to the industrial organization is not possible.

It is, however, correct to assert that the development of the labor movement is undoubtedly in the direction of consolidation into large and efficient organizations. The development of industry and technique tends to bring together trades which were before sharply separated. The organization of capitalist employers and the forms under which this organization occurs compel the workmen to unite their small trade unions into larger associations. The form which this takes is determined by the peculiarities of the industry; and, as has already been pointed out, it is often determined also by the form of organization adopted by the employers against whom the workmen have to struggle. Now whether these larger associations of labor will take the form of industrial organizations as these are exemplified by the metal workers' union of Germany and the wood workers of that country and similar industrial organizations in Great Britain, or of the variety of industrial organization exemplified by the brewery workmen's unions of Germany and the United States, the municipal employees' organization of Germany, or the mine workers' union in this country, is a question which must be left to industrial evolution. Here again fixed fundamental principles cannot be laid down. The development of industry and various related influences will decide. In certain branches of industry the bringing together of workmen according to the nature of their work—as workers in wood, workers in iron, etc.—is the governing factor in their form of organization; in other branches, on the contrary, it is advantageous to organize together all the workmen employed in a certain industry, regardless what kind of work they do. This question is not, therefore, definitely settled, even though the last trade-union congress in Germany, for instance, expressed the

opinion that the development of labor organizations will take the direction of the grouping of workingmen into large vocational unions, embracing groups of related trades, not that of the sort of industrial organizations represented by the brewery workmen and the municipal employees.

This latter is the only possible form of organization in the brewing industry. The simple industrial organization—as, for instance, the organization of all metal workers, all wood workers, etc.—would mean for the brewery workmen a division of forces which they could hardly if at all overcome. The jurisdiction controversies which now appear between the brewery workmen's organization and the unions of teamsters, engineers, and coopers, and which are not confined to the United States, but show themselves everywhere, would continue in the same manner even if this kind of industrial union were to become the dominant form of organization in the labor movement. Between the wood workers, the workers in the machine industry, and the transportation workers on the one side and the brewery workmen or mine workers on the other, there will always remain sufficient matter for dispute over the affiliation of certain branches of labor, and with inconsiderate methods of procedure this will easily lead to jurisdiction conflicts. This condition would not be changed even by further consolidating several unions—as, for instance, by the formation of a union of food workers' organizations. The matter for dispute still remains. The only radical solution might be found in the idea of a general labor union, which, however, would have to possess a much closer unity and exercise a much more far-reaching influence upon its members than does, for instance, the American Federation of Labor.

Until this is reached jurisdiction conflicts must, as far as possible, be prevented by the exercise of good will and insight into the nature of the general labor movement.

This can be done by means of understandings and agreements among the various organizations which divide a common field. The principle of equal rights, the recognition of mutual possession, the avoidance of unfair agitation, such as the pointing out of lower dues or higher benefits, and especially timely understandings upon all questions of working together—all these ought to be used in order to prevent any possible strife between different branches of the general labor movement.

It should always be kept in mind that the further development of the union movement has to take such forms as will not be injurious to the labor movement as a whole. The uniting of forces, not their division, must be the guiding rule in the labor movement.

What, then, is to be the answer to the question as to trade organization or industrial organization in either of its forms? The answer must be—all three, each according to the stage of development, the peculiarities of the industry in question, the attitude of the employers, and the condition of the organization in question.

For the workingmen in the brewing industry, the species of industrial organization which unites all the workingmen employed in that industry is the only possible form of organization. It is, therefore, a question of life and death for these workingmen to maintain it, and they cannot under any circumstances allow it to be taken from them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Labor Union and Political Organization.

1. THE LABOR UNION AND ITS WEAPONS.

THE labor-union movement is not the result of the desires and activities of certain individuals. It is a necessary accompaniment of economic evolution.

Simultaneously with the development of industry, bodies of workingmen develop themselves who get together in unions; and we have seen that, for instance, in the brewing industry, as soon as it had reached a certain stage of development, an organization of the workingmen in this industry was founded which maintained itself in spite of all the efforts of the brewery capitalists and all their economic power.

Just as the organization itself, so are its struggles natural phenomena which are intimately connected with the growth of the particular industry. The common interests of the workingmen who have been driven together by the nature of great industry impel them to make demands which tend toward the improvement of their condition of labor. The opposition of the capitalists to the labor unions forces the workingmen into extended struggles for the right and existence of these organizations. The existing laws and the power of the state aid the capitalists and are turned against the workingmen. The latter are thereby forced to turn against the existing state and to strive by political struggle to gain influence over the government and the legislature. The economic struggle of the workingmen develops into a political struggle, into a struggle for power in the state.

The struggle of the labor organization is a struggle for civilization. Not only does it aim at obtaining better

working conditions, higher wages, shorter hours of labor, etc., but it aims also at advancing the progress of civilization for the workingmen. Without the labor movement, the working class would have no share in the progress of the world.

The right of organization into labor unions, which was originally limited everywhere, has to be won for themselves by the workingmen against the will of the capitalists and the laws of the state. This applies also to the weapons which the workingmen have to use in their economic struggle. A new conflict ensues over each step of progress in the use of these weapons. When the battle for the right to organize is decided, then a new struggle breaks out over the use of further weapons. The treatment of the boycott by the courts is a good example. The prohibition of this weapon by the courts will not prevent its use by the workingmen. Finally the accomplished fact—that is, the use of the boycott as a weapon in labor disputes—will also receive the sanction of the courts. New antagonisms will develop, however, between the ruling class which has the power of the state in its hands and the working class which is striving for the betterment of its condition and for its emancipation, and out of them will develop new struggles, economic and political. The class struggle knows no cessation, so long as there are class antagonisms in our society.

The weapons and means at the disposal of the labor-union movement in its struggles are organization, the growth of which is a veritable life-and-death question for the workers, and further the strike, the boycott, the solidarity of the working class, and also well filled treasuries for their organizations. It is not to be supposed that the capital at the disposal of the labor unions can hold its own as compared with the capital in the possession of the capitalists—for against every hundred thousand in the

treasuries of the unions the capitalists can put down ten millions. On the field of finance the labor organizations cannot compete with the capitalist class. Nevertheless, well filled union treasuries mean increased power of endurance for the organized workingmen in the struggle; if it is possible for the workingmen to tire out the capitalist, then they are enabled to wage their battles with increased power. According as the union funds are large or small they constitute a great or a small weapon in the labor conflict, hence their importance.

Naturally the strength of the organization plays an important part. The task of the organization and its leaders will be to make out of the local trade union a national organization and to draw into its ranks all the workingmen in the trade. Above the national union is the international. The National Union of United Brewery Workmen at its Cincinnati convention changed its title to "International Union" because it had extended its organizing activity into Canada. But even before that a federation of all brewery workers' organizations of all countries had been thought of.

As early as 1893 the United Brewery Workmen of America, the first to be organized in any country, addressed themselves to the representatives of brewery workers' organizations assembled in Germany, proposing to establish a kind of federation. It was agreed to exchange mutually important information; the establishment of an international defense fund was discussed, and voluntary international aid in time of struggle was taken for granted. Later on it was agreed that membership cards should be mutually recognized and that each organization should accept any person who had held membership in the other for one year. This agreement was also extended to Austria and Switzerland, and in 1894 the American organi-

zation sent \$150 to assist the locked-out brewery workers in Berlin.

When the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress was held at London in 1896, to which the United Brewery Workmen of America sent Charles F. Bechtold as their delegate, there also took place a conference of brewers' delegates from America, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. An international information bureau was planned and it was also proposed to urge the brewers of other beer-producing countries who were not yet organized to join the movement. This referred particularly to Great Britain, as the brewery workers' organization there was very weak.

However, all these plans had no practical effect.

In the summer of 1908 the European brewers' organizations called a conference at Munich, at which a closer international affiliation of organized brewery workers was considered. The creation of an international secretariat was especially discussed, which led to the decision to put this point on the order of business for the next international conference. In the meantime, the Executive of the German organization undertook to direct the international affairs, and the organizations of Holland, Austria, and Switzerland were each to name a member of the administrative committee.

The American brewery workers were not represented at this international conference. The United Brewery Workmen had referred the matter to its convention, held in the same year in New York. This convention decided to send delegates to the next international brewers' conference, which had been provided for by the Munich conference, and to work for an international federation of the brewery workers of different countries. This conference is to take place at Copenhagen in 1910, in connection with the International Socialist Congress, to be held there.

Next to organization itself, which of course is the most important of all, the kind of weapons which the organization can use is of importance in connection with the outcome of its struggles. More important than the strike, for the brewery workers, is the boycott. Not that the strike can be disregarded, but in beer production it will always play a minor role—will, so to speak, be the introduction to the struggle, which will be conducted in the main by the use of the boycott.

The boycott has played a most important part in the history of the brewery workers' movement in America, more important perhaps than in that of any other trade. The ten-year boycott against the New York "Pool Beer," which was decided chiefly by the attitude of the New England workingmen; the boycott against the St. Louis beer, which ended favorably for the brewery workers on account of the strong support of the Knights of Labor in the South—in short, every one of the greatest struggles of the brewery workers was decided by the boycott, which proved the strongest weapon in the hands of the workingmen in these conflicts.

The boycott—or at least its name—originated in Ireland. At the time of the struggles of the Land League there in the later seventies of the last century, there lived in Ireland, a certain Captain Boycott, who was the agent for a large British land-owner and who treated his tenants with such severity that they petitioned their landlord to recall him. Their request was refused, and the Land League decided that its members should have no further dealings with Captain Boycott. No one would work for him, buy from him, or sell to him—in short, every dealing and connection with him was broken off. It was the proscription of the medieval guilds which here reappeared in a new form, and under the name "Boycott" this declara-

tion of non-intercourse made its way around the world and became a weapon also in the struggles of the workingmen.

But in this struggle the boycott changed its character. As we have seen, the boycott in Ireland was originally directed against an individual. But in the labor struggle, it is in the main a proscription of certain goods, and especially of certain goods such as are used by the masses. Its use is, therefore, chiefly for such industrial workers as produce foodstuffs and other articles of common use—bakers, butchers, cigar makers, brewers. In the brewing industry the boycott is an especially good weapon because the male workers, who are the best organized, have the decision in the matter of purchasing.

If the boycott is to be successful, it presupposes a strict organization of the working class industrially and politically, and a wide circulation of the labor press. In declaring a large boycott, it must always be taken into consideration, not only that organized labor is necessary for its execution, but that large circles of consumers must be interested in the struggle. If the struggle is carried on against a monopoly which controls the market in the district concerned, then it is necessary that organized labor see to it that substitutes are provided there, so that the consumer can buy the necessary goods without violating the boycott. On several occasions the United Brewery Workmen have found it necessary, in places where the entire local beer product was boycotted, to import union-made beer from other places, often at great expense, in order to give the boycotting consumers a chance to buy beer at all.

The boycott is a two-edged weapon, which when once undertaken should be energetically used, but whose use in any case should be carefully considered beforehand. In the first place, it must be certain that if a boycott is declared it will be supported by the whole body of organized labor, and that the workingmen are inspired by the

right feeling of solidarity. Therefore it is advisable, whenever possible, that the declaration of any large boycott be made dependent upon the previous consent of the central labor body, and if possible also of the political labor organization, whose representatives should under such circumstances be consulted. All trivial boycotts should be avoided, as they weaken the reputation and influence of the labor unions concerned. Above all, it should never be thought that the boycott may be made a substitute for organization. The main point is under all circumstances to strengthen the organization for the industrial struggle, and this strengthening should, as far as possible, be accomplished by its own efforts.

In the execution of a boycott, it is to be kept in mind that it acts not only directly, but also indirectly. That is, it strengthens the employers who are in competition with those firms against whom the boycott is declared, and in this way also it benefits the workingmen.

That the employers also know how to use the boycott is shown not only by the numerous instances in which great capitalists have refused to deliver to employers who have conceded the workingmen's demands the raw materials which they needed in their manufacture, but also by the use of "blacklists." The blacklist of the employers is a boycott against the commodity labor power, the only commodity which the workingmen have to sell. It is by far the worst form of boycott, as hundreds of employers often direct all the power which their wealth gives them against a single person who has nothing but his own labor power, which he then cannot sell anywhere.

For certain branches of labor, among which are especially the brewery workers, the boycott is a weapon which they cannot dispense with if they wish to maintain their organization. But the importance of this weapon is just as well known to the employers as to the workingmen, and they

have done all in their power to make it impracticable. The courts, naturally, have in this matter ranged themselves on the side of the employers. The United States courts have declared the boycott and the spoken or written promotion of a boycott, in so far as it affects goods which are transported from one state to another, to be an unlawful act, and they are threatening the boycotters with imprisonment. Of course this will not prevent the workmen from doing what they find necessary for the protection of their interests. All the rights which the labor movement now possesses, as we have seen, have been wrested from the ruling classes in spite of the law.

Closely related to the boycott, and really a variety of it, is the union label. By means of the union label and the insistence on it in the purchase of goods, a boycott is declared, so to speak, against all similar wares which do not bear the label. But it is a kind of boycott against which no one can say anything, as this label also indicates that the product in question has been made under union conditions.

The United Brewery Workmen early began the use of the union label. Already at the Detroit convention, in 1887, the question of introducing a uniform union label was taken up by the organization, but it was not then considered practicable by the delegates. From 1887 until 1892 the union label question was an open one in the organization. Various local unions had introduced a label, but these were different in almost all cities. There was no uniform rule, but circumstances forced the local unions to introduce a label, independent of the national organization, as organized labor insisted on it. In the year 1892 the National Secretary again recommended the introduction of a union label, but this was again voted down by the convention. Among the labels introduced by the various local unions, some were blue, others red, and still other locals

used the label of the Knights of Labor. In the year 1896 the convention, held at Cincinnati, elected a special committee to consider the label question, and this committee, after investigating the problem, recommended the introduction of a uniform label for the entire International Union.

Among the places which up to this time were using local beer labels were New York, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and almost all the larger cities of the United States. The number of the local labels thus used is put at about 1,200,000, of which Utica and Troy, N. Y., and Columbus, O., used the most. Only 179,000 International Union labels were used during the first year, but in the following year this number increased to 3,511,500. By 1901 it had grown to 12,000,000, by 1904 to 40,000,000, and since then it has remained about stationary. In the year 1908 the number of labels given out by the International Union was 42,260,000, not a noticeable increase. These figures do not include the beer-bottle labels, which were also used.

The employers put every possible obstacle in the way of introducing these labels by the International Union. At first they had to pay for the labels. When later on the labor organization delivered the labels free of charge in order to bring about their more general use, the employers declared that they did not want the labels, even gratis, and the use of labels increased but little. In order to cover the cost of printing and sending out the labels, the International Union imposed an initiation fee of \$1.00 upon its members.

The opposition of the brewery owners to the union label is easily understood. It meant a new strengthening of the workingmen's organization in their industry. And if they gave up their opposition it was only because they knew that organized workingmen who used beer wanted to be certain that the product which they drank was produced by union labor under union conditions.

The support of members by an organization forms a bond which attaches them to the union, and the brewery workers' organization has sought to form such a bond by an out-of-work benefit. Twice, in 1897 at Boston and again at St. Louis in 1899, the convention of the United Brewery Workmen instructed the National Executive to work out a plan for the support of unemployed members by the national organization. In both cases the plan submitted was voted down. Since then there is no unemployment benefit from the International Union, but such benefits are provided by the local unions as far as their strength permits.

2. POLITICAL ACTION.

The labor-union struggle, when carried on by the mass of the working people, can accomplish much. It is not a means of bringing about the complete freedom of the working class. Indeed, it is not even adequate to the acquisition and maintenance of all that the workingmen are under existing conditions able to force from the ruling classes. At a certain stage, when consistently carried out, this industrial struggle develops into a political struggle, for the reason that the ruling class employs political methods to oppose the efforts of the workingmen for the improvement of their condition. In this way the capitalists almost force the organized workingmen to use politics as a means in their struggle for betterment and freedom. Whoever seeks to keep politics out of the labor unions is therefore almost a traitor to the labor movement. Of course there is no question of the business politics which are carried on in the interest of one of the capitalist parties. Naturally, this is to be excluded as much as possible. The independent political movement of the working class, however, which is carried on for the sole purpose of improving the condition of the workingmen and in order to free them,

is only a continuation and generalization of the industrial struggle, and it means almost an arrest of the development of the industrial struggle if such independent politics of the working class, as represented in all modern countries by the Socialist parties, are to be kept out of the labor unions. This does not mean, of course, that such politics are to be arbitrarily forced upon the unions.

The opposition to the political movement within the unions, in so far as such opposition is honest, is based upon two motives. On the one hand, there is the fear that if labor politics are carried on in the unions, free play will be given to bourgeois politics, or that the capitalistic parties will then seek to gain influence within the unions. This objection is not altogether groundless, and it can be overcome only by teaching the members the difference between capitalistic and proletarian politics. On the other hand, the opinion is expressed, even in the ranks of enlightened workingmen, that the labor-union movement as such, and without the aid of the political movement of the working class, can develop sufficient strength gradually to crowd out the employers—indeed, to force the capitalist class to abdicate. Whoever holds this opinion overlooks the fact that the ruling class daily fights the labor movement with political weapons—that the legislatures, the courts, and the state and national governments themselves are merely organs for the protection of the capitalists' interests against the onslaughts of the working class.

The organized working class demands the right of uniting and the removal of all restraints upon that right. Existing legislation restricts this right as much as possible. The working class demands a legal regulation of working hours, in order to make more general and more secure the shortening of the workday, which they have won through industrial struggles. The capitalistic legislatures comply with this desire of the working class only when forced

to it, and seek to defeat it by trickery. The workingmen demand legislative protection for labor, an effective liability law—in short, laws of all kinds which they must demand in view of the development of industry and the consequent changes in the position of workingmen. The legislature does not willingly do anything to meet these demands which conditions compel the workingmen to make.

The same is the case with the judiciary. Especially here in the United States, the courts have shown that they are more than anywhere else merely organs for the representation of capitalistic interests. If anywhere a legislature has finally passed a law favorable to the workingmen, one can be sure that it will be declared unconstitutional by some court. By the use of injunctions the courts seek to hamper the industrial struggles of the workingmen, and attempt to hinder the use of the weapons necessary in this struggle. In many cases the strike has been made impossible by these injunction. The boycott has been made a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment. The laws for the reduction of working hours have almost always been declared unconstitutional by court decisions. In short, the courts have in every way been active as a tool of the capitalists in opposition to the labor movement.

And the state and national governments likewise are only committees which attend to the business of the capitalist class. Whenever, in the case of a large strike or other labor dispute, there seems to be danger to the property of the capitalists, one can be certain that the government will call out its militia or its soldiers to "maintain order"—after order has been destroyed in most cases by the police and the Pinkertons.

Everywhere, then, we see that political weapons are being used against the aspirations of the workingmen. Everywhere are political organs which by their state authority oppose the struggle of the workingmen for

economic improvement. And what have the labor unions to set against this attitude of the political authorities? Nothing but the independent political struggle of the working class.

The labor union, as such, is powerless when confronted with the inactivity of the legislature in the matter of enacting laws which are necessary for the improvement of the workingmen's condition. The labor unions can do nothing against the courts which throw their leaders into prison, nor against the governments whose soldiers and militia shoot them down, unless the organized workingmen, together with the working class as a whole, also enters the political field, develops its industrial struggle into a political struggle, attempts to get its spokesmen into the legislatures of the land, seeks through its political power to gain influence upon the judges' bench, and forms its own political party to undertake the task of conquering the governmental power of the country—all this for the one purpose of utilizing this legislative, judicial, and administrative power for the benefit of the working class, to win the freedom of the working class by means of these political weapons.

The labor union has to guard the special interests of the workingmen in each industry, has to wage the daily economic battle of the workingmen against the capitalists. The political labor party, the Socialist party, exists for the purpose of waging the general battle of the workingmen, has to express the common interests of the whole working class. Industrial and political struggles are essentially the same; the latter is only a combination of all the smaller struggles of the unions, and is the continuation of the struggle of organized labor upon a field where the weapons of the unions themselves no longer suffice.

Of course it is always to be kept in mind that practical and successful labor politics must be independent politics.

Any connection of labor organizations with capitalistic parties and capitalist politicians is a betrayal of the cause of labor. Capitalist politics mean the protection of capitalist interests. Labor politics, in which political action is not an end, but a means for the advancement of the cause of labor, represents proletarian interests. Just as industrial struggles of workingmen against the employers in their trade, if they are to be successful, can never be conducted by the workingmen in unison with their employers, so likewise the political struggles of the workingmen, if they are to be effective for the cause of labor, must be waged against the capitalist parties, not together with them.

Therefore every honest union man, if he understands his interests and the interests of his class, must also be an adherent of independent labor politics, must be a Socialist. The emancipation of the working class will become possible only when this class wins the political power of the state, when it takes all the power of the state into its own service, when it embodies in legislation what it has set forth in its political demands—when, in other words, it makes the state a tool in its work of emancipation.

3. THE BREWERY WORKMEN AND THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

The National Union of United Brewery Workmen, so far as its administration and its conventions are concerned, has always represented the progressive point of view in the labor movement. Both by the spoken word and in writing it has always declared that besides the labor-union organization, the independent political organization of the working class is necessary in order to bring about the complete emancipation of the workers; and there has hardly been a single convention in which it was not emphasized in one form or another how necessary it is for the brewery workers to support the Socialists in elections

and declare themselves a part of the Socialist movement. The officers of the organization never failed to impress the members with the fact that it was their duty to join the Socialist movement, to vote the Socialist ticket, and to learn to understand Socialism. The "*Brauer-Zeitung*" also has always done its duty in this respect, and has always tried to keep the members informed in regard to the general labor movement, political as well as industrial.

In other respects also, whenever the organization had a chance to express itself, it was always on the most progressive side of the labor movement. When the Chicago Anarchists were brought to the gallows through unjust persecution in the courts, the members of the brewery workers' unions were among those who raised the loudest and most emphatic protest against this judicial murder. The National Union had hardly been formed before it impressed its members with their duty to become citizens of this country in order to represent labor in the political struggles. In the convention held at Milwaukee in 1893, it was decided that no member of the United Brewery Workmen be allowed to belong to the state militia—a resolution which has special significance because the brewery workers before the formation of their union had particularly delighted in military organizations (*Schützenvereinigungen*) and other similar amusements. Just as they opposed the persecution of the Chicago Anarchists, the organized brewery workmen also opposed the persecution of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, and the National Union, as such, contributed \$500 to the Haywood election fund, aside from the large sums which the local unions contributed to the defense fund for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Union No. 1 of New York donated not less than \$1,000 to this defense fund. The struggles of the Russian revolution were supported with \$500; the Socialist parties of this country received con-

siderable contributions toward their election expenses, and the Socialist newspapers were also given numerous financial contributions. The proletarian virtue of solidarity has been exercised at every opportunity by the United Brewery Workmen in a far higher degree than by other organizations.

As long as the organization had a purely German character, its political attitude and the frequent sacrifices its members made on account of that attitude met with little or no opposition. But such opposition did arise, and often grew very serious, when the English-speaking element gained greater influence within the organization. This element was frequently connected with capitalist parties and had no experience whatever in proletarian politics, and it is only surprising that the persons who had the management of the organization in hand could, in spite of this opposition by the English-speaking element, uphold the political principle which from the beginning determined the general direction of the organization.

The Declaration of Principles in which is laid down the political confession of faith of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen is worded as follows:

"In present-day society there are classes whose interests are sharply opposed to each other. On the one side there is the possessing class, which owns almost all the land, houses, factories, means of communication, machines and raw materials—all the means of life. In proportion to the entire population, this class is a small minority.

"On the other side are the workingmen, who possess nothing but their mental and physical labor power, which they are compelled to sell to the owners of the means of production. The workingmen are numbered by millions.

"It is in the interest of the possessing class to buy labor power as cheaply as possible, to produce as much as possible, and to accumulate riches. The few hundred thousand owners take for themselves the larger part of the wealth produced by the workingmen.

"The millions of workingmen get from the product of their labor only enough to keep up a miserable existence.

"Every invention in machinery, every new discovery of natural power is taken by the possessing class exclusively for their enrichment; human labor power is thereby ever more crowded out.

"The superfluous workmen, in order to exist, are compelled to sell their labor power at any price they can get. The value of labor sinks by degrees; the working population becomes poorer and poorer, its consuming power becomes less and less, it is able to buy a smaller part of the goods produced, the stock accumulates, production is restricted and partly stopped. The crisis is here.

"The possessing class takes the power of state, police and militia, press and pulpit into its service in order to sanctify and protect its ownership of the wealth which has been created by others.

"On the other hand, there are the millions of workers without means of support, without rights and defenseless, betrayed and sold by state, press, and pulpit. The weapons of the police and militia are directed against them.

"In consideration of these facts we declare:

"1. That the working class must emancipate itself from all influences of the hostile and antagonistic class, must organize itself locally, nationally, and internationally in order to set the power of organized labor in opposition to the power of capital and in order to represent its own interests at the places of work, in the community, in the state and nation.

"2. National and international labor unions are in a position to exert a great influence upon production, to regulate the conditions and hours of labor and the system of apprenticeship, and to assist their members in all circumstances of life.

"3. The struggles which they have to wage against organized capital lead them to recognize that the separate unions must unite into one great federation; the solidarity of the interests of all is proclaimed, mutual support is practiced. Soon it will be recognized that the whole system of production rests upon the shoulders of the working class, and that when this class so wills, it can introduce another and a juster system.

"Opposed to the conscious power of capital with its following is the conscious power of labor.

"4. No power is great enough to cross the will of this conscious majority; without halting it will advance towards its goal. Natural right is on its side. The earth with all its riches belongs to all men. All the achievements of civilization have been gained by the work

of all the peoples during thousands of years. The results belong to all in common. The organized working class will come to realize these principles and to bring about a state of affairs in which everyone will be able to enjoy the product of his labor.

"The emancipation of the working people can take place only when the economic and the political movement go hand in hand."

These are the political principles which the brewery workers' organization has taken as its guide, and they have always been followed by its national officers, its press organ, and its conventions. Has this been the case with the masses of the membership? This question, unfortunately, has to be answered with a No. Members of the organization, frequently whole local unions, have not recognized that the independent political labor movement is a necessary complement of the industrial movement. And if they have recognized, they have too rarely acted up to the principle.

The reasons for this are manifold. Where, as in the larger cities, a stronger socialistic political labor movement had developed, the brewery workers held more firmly to their political class organization. But the socialist movement has grown to great importance only in the larger cities. Furthermore, it has not always strongly enough taken the part of the industrial movement, more especially it has frequently not done enough for its enlightenment. In addition to this, in smaller places the political power of the brewery owners has had a greater influence upon the workingmen. But above all there is one cause that has hindered the political development of the brewery workers. This is the prohibition question and the political battles connected with it. To this fact it is due that the brewers have not played by any means as important a part in the political battle for the emancipation of labor as they have in the industrial labor struggles of this country.

4. THE BREWERY WORKMEN AND CAPITALIST POLITICS.

In a report which the then editor of the "*Brauer-Zeitung*" presented to the convention of the National Union, held at Cincinnati in 1903, attention was drawn to the evil which results from the natural connection of the brewing industry with capitalist politics.

It was demonstrated that the brewing industry is one of the chief sources of corruption in the municipalities and in the states. The prohibition question is frequently taken up by the brewery capitalists, who in order to protect their interests seek connection with all the bourgeois political parties, merely as a pretext to get the labor organizations to work with them. Under the motto: "Fight for personal liberty," brewery workers are drawn into capitalistic politics, only to find again and again that they have been betrayed. The political battles which are connected with the prohibition question and the Sunday laws are used by the great capitalists in the brewery industry, partly in order to use their workingmen for their special political purposes, and partly in order to strengthen their influence upon the saloon business, so that the saloonkeepers become mere agents of the brewery owners.

To the conditions here portrayed it is really due that the brewery workers, who occupy such a progressive position in the industrial movement, have not developed in a progressive manner in the political movement.

In another part of this work we treat fully the question of prohibition and Sunday laws and the position of the workingmen thereto. We recognize readily that the brewery workers are in a peculiar position as regards these questions, but they have to learn that even in regard to these questions the political ways of the brewery owners cannot be their ways.

Even where, as in the struggles against prohibition and

the Sunday laws, the interests of the brewery capitalists and those of the brewery workers seem to be identical, in reality their interests are different. This was shown, for example, at one of the first conventions of the United Brewery Workmen, when it was proposed in all seriousness that the brewery workers should support prohibition laws as a means of compelling the brewery capitalists to recognize the union and the labor demands it made.

In the struggle again prohibition and what is connected therewith, the brewery workers have to go their own ways. The sort of policy which it would be possible for them to follow in unison with the brewery capitalists would not solve the question in a manner favorable to their interests. To reach such a favorable solution, they will have to fight side by side with the entire working class, and it will come simultaneously with the conquest of political power by the workers. Every support tendered the brewery capitalists, however, delays the moment when political power will pass into the hands of the workingmen.

CHAPTER IX.

Hygienic Conditions of the Brewery Workmen.

1. DISEASES OF THE TRADE.

THE life of the workingman is shorter than that of the capitalist. Sickness and epidemics are more prevalent in the quarters inhabited by workingmen than in the palaces of the rich. It is not only due to the privations, the insufficient nourishment, the unhealthful surroundings, that the ranks of the workingmen are reduced more than the ranks of the possessing class. The workingmen of each trade have in addition their special diseases, their special sufferings, their special fatalities. The kind of employment and the unfavorable effect of this employment upon the body, brings to the workingmen in each trade special diseases or develops in them general diseases to a special extent, to which large numbers of them fall victims.

It is well known that workmen who have to work in an atmosphere which is filled with particles of dust of various kinds—metal grinders, stone cutters, stone polishers and similar trades—are particularly susceptible to diseases of the lungs. In other trades, again, workmen who have to handle poisonous substances suffer from special diseases resulting from the introduction of these poisons into the body. In short, almost every trade which is not specially protected has certain diseases from which the workingmen of the trade particularly suffer.

The brewery workers also have their special trade diseases. Their trade likewise involves such conditions that they are more exposed to certain diseases than are other people, and their longevity is strongly influenced by their daily occupation.

Unfortunately social statistics are as yet so little developed in the United States that no material is at our

disposal to show the influence which work in the breweries of this country has upon the health and duration of life of the brewery workers. We are compelled, therefore, in considering this subject to use foreign material. It must be noted that the evils which grow out of the occupations of the workingmen are for many reasons greater here in the United States than in Europe.

A German scientist who has paid special attention to trade diseases declares: "Numerous statistics have shown that sickness, as well as the death rate, are very high among brewers, maltsters, etc." Indeed, Westergaard comes to the conclusion "that such high rates are otherwise reached only where there are extraordinary conditions, such as lead-poisoning and dust-inhalation."*

The special trade diseases of the brewery workmen are rheumatic affections and diseases of the breathing organs. Over one-fifth of all the sickness among brewery workmen—to be exact, 21.69 per cent—consists according to Chajes in rheumatism and weakening of the organs of locomotion. One-sixth of all the sick brewers—precisely 16.33 per cent—suffer from diseases of the breathing organs, tuberculosis, etc. How much more prevalent are rheumatic diseases among brewers than elsewhere is shown by the fact that on the average only 15.5 per cent of all diseases are of a rheumatic nature, while among brewers these constitute 21.69 per cent.

Dr. Chajes observes that in this calculation only those cases were considered which were so serious as to compel the victims to give up work. A large proportion of lighter ailments, where those affected were able to continue work, are not here taken into account. This does not apply to the rheumatic cases merely. "A large part of the diseases," says Chajes, "especially those of the heart, kidneys, and

*Dr. B. Chajes, "Die Krankheiten der Brauerei-Arbeiter;" Verlag von G. Fischer, Jena.

digestive organs, do not at first cause disability for work and still are due to bad trade conditions."

Out of every 100 deaths among the members of the Berlin beer-brewers' sick benefit society, 52.4 were caused by diseases of the respiratory organs, of which 47.2 were tuberculosis of the lungs.

In England, according to statistical tables, out of every 1,000 persons of the general population, 7.67 die between the ages of 25 and 35 years; among the brewers the proportion is 10.83. Between 35 and 45 years there die among each 1,000 of the general population 13.01 persons; among the brewers, 19.04. Between 45 and 55 years, the proportion for the general population is 21.37; among the brewers it is 30.79. Between 55 and 65 years, the proportion is 30.01 among the general population; 54.44 among the brewers.

As against 1,000 deaths in the general population there are 1,427 among the brewers.

An English physician, Tatham, says in regard to this great death rate among the brewers: "The excessively high mortality among the brewers is partly due to phthisis and diseases of the respiratory system; from these diseases 518 die, as against 416 of the general population; in addition to this brewers are affected to a high degree by diseases of the digestive system and diseases of the urinary system (including Bright's disease). This can be traced to the influence of alcoholic beverages."

A German physician, Weihrauch, who considered conditions in Munich more especially, as cited by Chajes, traces the cause of death among the brewery workers in 36.4 per cent of the cases to tuberculosis and in 19.7 per cent to diseases of the heart.

All this shows that the occupation of the brewer is not exempt from special trade diseases. Like almost all wage

earners, the brewer too has to pay for his work with early death and increased sufferings.

2. ACCIDENTS.

Besides trade diseases we have to consider the accidents with which the workingmen meet as they earn their living, and which as is well known not only impair their capacity for work, but frequently make them entirely unfit for work or even cause their death.

As for trade diseases, so for trade accidents, we have to go to other countries for our statistics. It is true that the Bureau of Labor in Washington some time ago published some accident statistics; but these do not contain anything on the subject now before us—that of trade accidents among the brewers.

For the German Empire the following figures are given for the year 1902:

Out of 119,319 fully employed workingmen who were insured in the brewers' and maltsters' trade societies, 1,418 met with accidents in that year. Out of every 1,000 brewery workmen, 11.9 were injured in the course of the year; and it must be noted that only those cases were considered which caused a disability for work for at least thirteen weeks. The average of all trade associations shows that out of every 1,000 workingmen, 9.2 meet with accidents; the brewery workers have 11.9. The number of accidents in the breweries of Germany, therefore exceeds by 29.4 per cent the average for all trades; it must be noted that in this average figure the most dangerous trades are included.*

Out of the 1,418 accidents in the year 1902, thirty-seven caused permanent total disability to work, and 112 resulted in death.

Dr. Weihrauch, who has already been mentioned, even

*Dr. B. Chajes, "Die Krankheiten der Brauerei-Arbeiter," p. 439.

traces 11.1 per cent of all deaths among brewery workers in Munich to accidents. According to the calculations of Chajes, 30.4 per cent of all the cases of sickness among brewery workers in Berlin are due to accidents; but here accidents occurring outside of the trade are reckoned in. The actual number of all accidents among brewery workers is naturally far greater. According to the report of the brewers' and maltsters' trade society, the number of insured workingmen in 1906 was 111,684 and in 1907 this had decreased to 110,167. In spite of this the number of accidents increased, probably on account of the higher speeding of machinery. In the year 1906 there were 14,248 accidents, and in the following year 14,341. For every 1,000 insured brewery workers in 1907 there were on the average 131 accidents. The highest accident rate is in Berlin, with 187 to every 1,000 workingmen, and the lowest in Strassburg, with 66 to every 1,000.

Considering the inadequacy of accident statistics in the United States and the unreliability of the official figures, it would be highly advisable for the United Brewery Workmen to undertake the task of collecting statistics of all accidents in breweries and bringing them before the public. A general system of labor statistics conducted by the labor unions would in most cases be preferable to the official figures, which in our country are too frequently distorted against the cause of the workers.

As in many other respects, so in this the brewery workers' union could set a good example to the other labor organizations.

3. CAUSES AND REMEDY.

What are the causes of the large prevalence of trade diseases among the brewers, and what can be done to remedy them?

Dr. B. Chajes, who has been quoted several times, says:

"As the two main causes of the trade diseases may be mentioned the great variations in temperature to which the workingmen are exposed and the use of alcohol."

The injury from the great variation in temperature is apparent, when one considers that the temperature in the brewhouse is from 15° to 20° Celsius, while in the cooling rooms it is from 3° to 5°, and in the malt kiln rooms from 70° to 80° on the average. In addition to this, the air in all these rooms contains a great deal of moisture, so that at times it is like a hot-house. In the ante-rooms, even the closing and opening of the doors causes a strong draft, so that the maltster, particularly if he is overheated when leaving the room, is exposed to great danger of taking cold. Those workingmen who are employed for outside work in connection with the breweries, such as the drivers, etc., instead of being exposed to these changes of temperature, are exposed to all kinds of weather, and this has injurious effects, as shown by the diseases of brewers' helpers.

This opinion of Dr. Chajes is shared by an officer of the brewers' trade society, who says in his report for 1907:

"In small mixed establishments, that is, in such as do their own malting as well as the brewing—there is a great danger to the health of the workingmen employed, as they have to work in the kiln room at a temperature of 40° to 60° and soon afterwards have to go into the cellar or even work in the open so that they are exposed, particularly in winter, to a change in temperature of from 60° to 80°."

The second evil from which the brewery workers suffer Chajes characterizes as the excessive use of alcohol. The excessive drinking which the free beer system involves in certain places is bound to be detrimental. According to investigations made in Switzerland, the number of accidents to brewers is considerably increased by the excessive use of alcohol.

Compared with these evils—difference in temperature

and excessive use of alcohol—the deterioration of the air by carbonic acid, sulphuric acid, and other substances, takes second place, especially as the workmen are less frequently exposed to these evils owing to technical progress.*

Emanuel Wurm, the chemist and Socialist member of the Reichstag, is inclined to think that the effects ascribed to the use of alcohol are exaggerated. In his speech on the use of alcohol at the Social-Democratic Party Congress at Essen in 1907, he says in regard to the brewery workmen:

"Furthermore, it is inaccurate to attribute the prevalence of tuberculosis among the brewers solely to the use of alcohol. The frequent changes of temperature to which the brewers are exposed is the chief consideration, together with physical exhaustion due to excessively long working hours in impure air laden with carbonic acid and also to working overtime and night work.

"But when a workingman, poisoned with dust, heat, and vapor and with over-exertion, can no longer use his body, neither is he in a condition to perform any intellectual activity—to read a book or newspaper, to listen to a lecture, or anything of the sort—but he is just able to drowse into the next day by the aid of alcohol, especially if he can find no other center of sociability but the saloon, where the selling of alcoholic drinks is a business."**

This, by the way, is a hint for those who reproach the brewery workmen on account of their slight intellectual activity.

What, then, is necessary from a medical point of view in order to counteract the trade diseases of the brewery workmen and to better their sanitary conditions?

First of all a change in the matter of furnishing free beer is required; the physicians would like to see this considerably reduced. In addition to this, it is necessary that

*Dr. B. Chajes, *ibid* 42.

**Emanuel Wurm, "Alkoholfrage und Sozialdemokratie;" Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin, 1908, p. 17.

the bodies of the brewers be strengthened by proper arrangements in the breweries so that they may acquire greater power of resisting disease.

Dr. Chajes, for instance, calls for the installation in all breweries of adequate shower baths and douches in order to make it possible for the workingmen "to strengthen their resistance against colds, rheumatism, etc., by appropriate care of the body."

He also would have leaflets posted and distributed which would point out the danger of excessive beer drinking and give instruction for the detection of disease in its early stages and rules of conduct for such cases.

In Germany the brewery workers have succeeded here and there in having certain sanitary appliances provided in the breweries; especially baths, douches, etc., are beginning to be introduced, as well as certain sanitary conveniences such as water closets, clothes lockers, and also an opportunity is being given for the change of clothing. But here in the United States conditions are still in most cases very bad in the matter of sanitary appliances. Here a great field still offers itself for the activity of the organization, a field which deserves to be considered for the sake of the well being of the brewery workmen.

4. FREE BEER.

"Free beer" has frequently been referred to, and the discussion of this subject belongs here, for it cannot be denied that the excessive use of beer is injurious.

Chajes, who has already been mentioned, says: "One does not by any means have to be a total abstainer to realize that the large amount of beer which is at the disposal of every workmen employed in the beer industry is exceedingly injurious. This allowance amounts in Northern Germany to three of four liters a day and in several breweries of Southern Germany it reaches as much as eight

liters a day. Moreover, the control in some breweries is not very strict, and in reality the workmen get as much as they want."

Chajes recommends a stricter control of the free beer, and suggests that every brewery workman be permitted to take something else in place of the beer. According to him, this could be arranged by having the workmen receive money instead of the free beer, or checks, which could be exchanged at the brewery canteen for vichy, coffee, milk, etc.

The possibly increased expense to the brewery owners would be worth while, "as they could keep their trained workmen in their factories in a healthy condition for a longer period and thus have an advantage after all."

Emanuel Wurm also, in his speech quoted above, expresses an opinion on this question of free beer. He too declares the free beer a nuisance, and points out in praise of the German brewery workmen that they themselves fight with all their energy against the free-beer system. These workmen say: Give us better working conditions and an increase in wages instead of the free beer. In some of the breweries of Germany this has been carried into effect. The workmen there get beer checks which they can use or not as they wish, and for the unused ones they get money. A large part of the breweries, however, are opposed to the abolition of the free-beer system; the brewery owners' trade society has even opposed the demand of the German State Insurance Department for the abolition of free beer, and with such success that the Insurance Department no longer advocates the abolition of free beer with its former energy.*

A memoir on "The Restriction of Free Drink," published by the German brewers' and maltsters' trade society, de-

*Emanuel Wurm; *ibid.*, p. 17.

scribes fully the Frankfurt system of free beer. According to this every workman receives a number of checks corresponding to the quantity of drink at his disposal; these checks bear a number and are good for half a liter each. The checks change in color daily—yellow, white and red—and have to be obtained daily in the morning. The checks which have not been used for beer must be returned the following morning, otherwise they are not redeemed. In addition each workman is given a book, in which the number of unused checks is entered each time. The payment in redemption of the unused checks takes place weekly, along with the payment of wages.

This Frankfurt system has already spread widely. In regard to its success the administration of a Berlin brewery reports as follows: "Undesirable conditions, such as frequent excessive use of alcohol and cases of drunkenness and intemperance, have been entirely removed. The regular and moderate consumption of beer on the part of the workingmen is beneficial to their health, and in some cases increases their capacity for work, but above all it largely prevents the absolutely injurious use of whisky."

In some other places in Germany, free beer has been entirely abolished. Thus, for instance, the scale established by the Munich brewery workmen led to the "entire abolition of free beer, with a corresponding increase in wages."

The memoir points out that where the greatest quantities of free beer are allowed, the workmen clamor most for its abolition. For where much free beer is permitted, there wages are the lowest.*

*Emanuel Wurm; *ibid.*, p. 45.

CHAPTER X.

Achievements and Prospects.

1. CONDITION OF THE ORGANIZED BREWERY WORKMEN.

AT the convention of the United Brewery Workmen held in New York in 1908, it was reported that the number of brewery workmen brought together in the organization had grown to 42,570. This imposing army of labor was distributed into 373 local unions and 180 branches. The number of members of the organization increased meanwhile to 45,233, which are distributed in 366 local unions and 187 branches. It may be mentioned that among the branch organizations there are some composed entirely of women, the members of which are mostly employed in the bottled-beer industry.

The largest number of members in any one city is in Greater New York. The number of brewery workmen organized there is about 5,000, of whom 1,900 are brewers properly so called, belonging to Local Unions No. 1, No. 59, and No. 69. The beer drivers and stablemen are organized in Local Unions No. 23 and No. 24, and number about 1,960 men. Next come the bottled-beer workers and bottled-beer drivers, who number about 900 in Local Unions No. 343 and No. 347. Then follow the maltsters and other auxiliary workers of the brewing industry, who have weaker organizations.

The wages of the brewers proper, according to the present contract, are from \$16 to \$18 a week, with a working day of nine hours. The maltsters get \$16 a week and work nine and a half hours. Beer drivers and stablemen have a ten-hour day and get from \$15 to \$18, and the workmen in the bottled-beer industry have also a ten-hour day and receive from \$12 to \$16 a week.

The brewery unions of New York had the nine-hour day granted them in 1905, after long negotiations with the brewery capitalists, but not without an interruption of the negotiations, which at one time were entirely broken off. On October 1, 1905, the nine-hour day went into effect for the brewers proper in New York, and when this contract expired in 1908, it was renewed for another three years, also on the basis of a nine-hour day.

This settlement was a disappointment for many members of Local Union No. 1 in New York. It had been hoped that it would be possible to introduce into the brewery industry of New York the eight-hour day, which as we have seen was pretty generally prevalent in the West. The failure of this hope gave rise to a rather deep-seated dissatisfaction, which sought expression in internal disputes.

In the neighboring city of Newark, N. J., where a comparatively large brewing industry has developed, the material conditions of the workingmen in the industry are in the main the same as those prevailing in New York. But the brewers there have succeeded in obtaining the eight-hour day. The number of organized workingmen in this industry in Newark is about 1,100, of whom 460 are in Local Union No. 2, 450 in the beer drivers' and stablemen's union No. 148, and 180 in the union of bottled-beer workers. The wages of the brewers are about the same as those in New York; the maltsters get \$16 to \$18, the beer drivers and stablemen \$13 to \$19 a week with a ten-hour day, and the bottled-beer workers receive \$10 to \$16, also working ten hours.

St. Louis and Milwaukee come next to New York in respect to the number of members in the organization. In each of these cities there are about 3,000 organized brewery workmen, among whom the bottled-beer workers have the strongest local unions. The bottled-beer workers of

Milwaukee are organized in Local Union No. 213, with 1,240 members; those of St. Louis in Local Union No. 187, with a membership of about 1,200. The brewers' union proper in Milwaukee, Union No. 9, has 930 members, and No. 6 in St. Louis has 790. The union of drivers and stablemen in Milwaukee has 400 members and that in St. Louis 650, and besides these there are the maltsters, engineers, firemen, and yardmen.

In Milwaukee the eight-hour day has with slight exception been introduced into the entire brewing industry. Only the beer drivers there work nine hours. In St. Louis the brewers, engineers, and firemen have the eight-hour day; the maltsters, bottled-beer workers, and yardmen work nine hours, and the beer drivers and stablemen ten hours a day. In Milwaukee the wages are from \$14 to \$16 a week for brewers, \$15.50 for maltsters, \$14.50 to \$16.50 for beer drivers and stablemen, \$8.40 to \$16.50 for bottled-beer workers, \$16 to \$18 for engineers and firemen, and \$13.50 for yardmen. Wages in St. Louis do not differ much from those in Milwaukee, but the engineers and firemen there get from \$15 to \$25 a week.

Among the other important centers of the organization Chicago, San Francisco and Cincinnati must be mentioned.

The local unions in Chicago have about 1,500 members. This does not include the beer drivers and stablemen, because in that city these do not belong to the United Brewery Workmen, but to the organization of teamsters. The number of brewers who belong to Local Union No. 18 in Chicago is, in round numbers, 700, the number in the maltsters' union 200, and in the bottled-beer workers' union 620. The brewers of Chicago have a workday of eight hours, the maltsters work eight to ten hours, and the bottled-beer workers nine hours. The wages for the brewers are \$18, for maltsters \$16.50 to \$18, for the bottled-beer workers \$12 to \$13.50 a week.

San Francisco and Cincinnati have each about 1,200 organized brewery workers. Local Union No. 7 in San Francisco has 425 members, the beer drivers' union 350, and the union of bottled-beer workers 520. In Cincinnati, Local Union No. 12 of the brewers has 480 members, the beer drivers' union No. 175 has 470, and the bottled-beer workers' union 260. In San Francisco the eight-hour day prevails in the brewery industry except for the beer drivers, who still have to work eleven hours a day—about the longest hours of any members of the organization. In Cincinnati the eight-hour day has been gained for the whole brewery industry, with the exception of the beer drivers, who work eight and one-half hours. The wages in San Francisco are \$21 and \$24 a week for the brewers, \$20 to \$25 for the beer drivers, and \$13.50 to \$16.50 for the bottled-beer workers. These are the highest wages paid to any members of United Brewery Workmen, but the high cost of living on the Pacific Coast must be taken into consideration. Cincinnati has comparatively low wages. There the brewers receive \$15 to \$16 a week, the beer drivers \$13 to \$15.50, and the bottled-beer workers \$11.50 to \$15.

Taking all in all, the men in the brewery industry with their hard work cannot lead a heavenly existence. Yet what a difference compared with the times before the organization, when the eighteen hour day was rather the rule than the exception, when Sunday work was a fixed institution, and a wage of \$40 to \$60 a month prevailed.

Thanks to the organization, the brewery workers have won for themselves a position which compares favorably as far as working conditions are concerned with that of any other branch of industry. But the tremendous advantages which the brewery workmen have gained through their labor organization are more striking than in other trades, because of the great difference which existed a

quarter of a century ago between the condition of the brewery workmen and the average condition of the whole working class. At that time the condition of the workmen in the breweries was very far below the average of general labor conditions. Indeed, they were not, properly speaking, industrial workers, who to a certain degree can dispose of themselves. They were serfs rather than wage-workers. Through hard struggles which have extended over long years, they have had to win for themselves a material existence which, although it still leaves much to be desired, has become equal to that of the general labor world.

The International Union of United Brewery Workmen has accomplished a work of civilization, has raised tens of thousands of serfs to the status of men. No other union furnishes so instructive an example of what organization can do, what the labor movement accomplishes, as does the activity of the United Brewery Workmen.

And in elevating their material condition, the organization has also raised the workingmen of the brewery industry intellectually.

Not that much could not yet be improved in this respect. The fact is that the brewery workers of today are entirely different from those of twenty-five years ago. It is true that even today very frequently in the meetings and other assemblies of brewery workers a rough, uncouth tone prevails and that they try to settle their disputes in a language which is not the language of average society. But compared with the language, manners and attitude which prevailed in the same circles a quarter of a century ago, the tremendous progress is evident which organization has brought about in this respect also. The heavy drinking of former times is considerably checked. Parliamentary order is to be found at every meeting, where in the beginning absolute incompetence and lack of judg-

ment prevailed. The intelligence of a large number of the brewery workers has been awakened by the organization, so that now they can themselves fill all their offices and committees, which formerly they too often had to entrust to declassed "intellectuals," who as a rule proved unreliable and abused the confidence placed in them. And many of the brewery workmen, even if not so many as could be wished, have used the leisure gained by the shortening of the workday to continue their intellectual education, to study the problems of the labor movement, and have devoted themselves to the more far-reaching principles of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. They have learned that the labor-union movement, much as it is able to accomplish, as shown by the organization of the brewery workers, yet cannot *alone* raise the working class out of the slavery in which it now lives. They have become Socialists and their influence upon their union has been great enough to put it at the head of the American labor movement in the exercise of that most purely proletarian virtue, solidarity on behalf of the comrades of their class, and in other ways they have acted in a progressive spirit.

If not all members of the organization have taken part in this forward development, if there is still a large number of organized brewery workmen who lack a clear understanding of the larger aims of the labor movement, who will not realize that the great advantages which the labor union has brought them can be maintained and carried on only if the labor movement is extended beyond the trade-union field, if the labor union movement is supplemented by the general Socialist movement—if, as we have said, not all members of the organization have become convinced of this, the fault does not lie with the "*Brauer-Zeitung*," the organ of the United Brewery Workmen.

The "*Brauer-Zeitung*" has been one of the few craft

journals in the United States which have never forgotten to emphasize that the independent political movement of the working class is at least as important as the trade organization. It has always been a fighting organ, no matter who conducted the editorial department, and not merely in the field of unionism, but also politically, and has always propagated socialistic ideas in its columns.

That it has not achieved greater success, is surely not its fault. It may be that the hard toil of the brewery workman makes it difficult for him to develop intellectual alertness, makes it difficult to arouse his interest in anything which is not directly related to his every-day affairs. It is also possible that his union journal and its contents do not get the attention they deserve because he gets it without paying for it directly. But whatever the reason, here is a field to which the administration of the union ought to give its attention. If it succeeds in making the mass of the members of its organization into *conscious* fighters in the class struggle it acquires irresistible force. Only then will the achievements of the last twenty-five years be made certain. The task is a difficult one. It requires long and patient work. Nevertheless, it *must* be performed.

2. POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANSION OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The expansion of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen is, of course, limited by the number of workmen who are employed in the industry. It can be enlarged if the organization is extended into related branches of trade or if it is extended to the North and the South beyond the boundaries of this country and includes Canada and Mexico in its field of organization.

In Canada this has already been done and there are a number of local unions on British-American territory.

Attention has early been directed to the extension of the organization into related trade branches. As has already been pointed out, the bottled-beer workers have for several years formed a considerable fraction of the United Brewery Workmen, and lately the organization has also been extended to the distilleries of the country. As for this latter step, its practical value for the organization has yet to be proved.

Of more importance, of course, than the extension into related industries and neighboring countries is, for the present, the drawing into the organization of all the brewery workers of this country, so that it may include all workers who are employed in the beer breweries and in connection with them.

The number of these workers can be approximately, although not quite definitely stated. The official census reports furnish some data, but the figures given there appear too low, if only for the reason that they give only the average number of workmen *employed*. Those workmen who are not employed, the so-called industrial reserve army, is therefore not included in the census figures. In reality, therefore, the number of brewery workers in the United States is greater than that given by the census. In addition to this, the figures of the census leave much to be desired; but at any rate they give some idea as to the progress of the industry in question.

The total number of all wage-workers in the United States who were employed in making beverages of all kinds was 55,392 in 1900. Five years later, in 1905, this number had grown to 68,340; it had increased in this short space of time by 13,000. In these figures are included the brewers, maltsters, distillery workmen, wine workers, and workers in mineral water and soda water factories. The bottled-beer workers in independent concerns are not included, but they have to be taken into

consideration because they belong to the United Brewery Workmen.

The number of workingmen in the mineral water factories was 8,985 in 1900, and by 1905 it had grown to 10,879. The workers in the wine industry play an inferior role; they numbered 1,193 in 1900 and 1,913 in 1905. These two categories can here be disregarded, as for the present they have nothing to do with the brewery workers' organization, although they no doubt represent related trades.

For the year 1900 the census gives the number of workers employed in the breweries as 39,532; by 1905 this number had grown to 48,139. This includes workers of all kinds employed in the brewery establishments—that is, it includes also maltsters and bottled-beer workers in so far as these are not employed in independent concerns, malteries, bottling houses, etc. In 1900 there were said to be 504 women and 643 children employed in the breweries, and the figures for 1905 give 643 women and 510 children. Since then the employment of women has increased, on account of the considerable increase in the bottled-beer industry, which is constantly growing in the breweries.

The number of workers employed in independent malteries in 1900 was 1,990, and in 1905 it was 2,054.

In the distilleries in 1905 there were 5,355 wage-workers employed in 805 establishments, among whom there were 270 women and seventeen children.

In regard to the bottled-beer industry, it must be mentioned that the census for the year 1900 gives 7,680 workers, distributed over 2,064 establishments. For the year 1905 there are no figures given in the census report as to the number of workers employed in this industry, but it is stated that the number of establishments had increased by 641—11.2 per cent—while the production

had increased by 30.9 per cent. We cannot be far wrong, therefore, if we assume that the number of workers in the independent bottled-beer establishments, who are to be considered in connection with the organization of United Brewery Workmen, was at least nine or ten thousand in 1905.

According to this there would be—including brewers, maltsters, bottled-beer workers, and distillery workers—in round numbers, 65,000 persons, which number must have increased by the present time—counting in the reserve army of the unemployed (not reckoned above) and the increase of the workers employed since 1905—to at least 75,000. Still a wide field for the work of organization of the United Brewery Workmen.

There is yet another category of employees in the brewery establishments which must be mentioned here, although they are hardly to be considered in connection with organization work of the International Union. This is the army of office workers, foremen, superintendents, salesmen, etc., which has increased tremendously in almost all industries in the last few decades.

In 1900 there were in the brewery industry 7,153 such officials, and by 1905 this number had grown to 9,055. During the same period the number of brewery workmen grew from 39,532 to 48,139. The total amount of salaries paid during the year 1900 to these brewery officials was \$13,046,540; in 1905 it was \$19,315,707—an increase of \$6,269,167. The wages paid during the year 1900 to all the brewery workmen amounted, according to the census statistics, to \$25,826,211, and in the year 1905 to \$34,542,897—an increase of \$8,716,686. While, then, the officials with an increase in number of only 1,902 showed an increase in salaries of \$6,269,167, the wage-workers in the brewery industry, with an increase in their number

of 8,607, showed an increase in wages of only \$8,716,686. Something to compare!

According to the census statistics, which are, however, far too high, because it is assumed that the worker is employed every working day during the year—which, of course, is not the case, as unemployment, sickness, etc., play an important part in the workingman's life—according to these statistics the average yearly wage of the workers in the breweries was \$653 in 1900, and \$717 in 1905. The average salary of the officials in the same industry amounted for the year 1900 to \$1,823; in 1905, to \$1,912. The salaries of the officials, as a rule, are paid for the entire year; for the workingmen the days of unemployment or inability to work must be considered, as they are usually not paid.

It may be pointed out in addition, that the average wage of the maltsters, as given in the census for 1905, was on the average \$710.

The situation of the distillery workers is far worse. These received during 1905 an average yearly wage of only \$496; that is not quite ten dollars per week.

And the reason for this? Well, the brewery workers and maltsters have been organized for years; the organization of the distillery workers has just begun. Hence a difference in wages amounting to more than four dollars a week.

This ought to stimulate thought!

3. THE NEED FOR ENLIGHTENMENT.

The history of the organization of the brewery workers of America would not be complete, many of the phenomena of this history would not be made clear, if we did not mention one point which is of even greater importance for the future of the organization than for its past.

To everyone who knows the organization of the brewery workers, it is clear that a large part of its members have joined not from any inner impulse, but because of pressure from without. "Obeying the call of need, not an inner impulse" ("Der Not gehorchend, nicht dem eigenen Triebe") a considerable number of brewery workers were driven into the union of their industry. And very often indeed it was the brewery owner who compelled his workmen to join the union of their craft.

The brewery owner certainly did not do this out of love for the organization of the workmen of his industry. On the contrary, as a rule he hated the union with all his heart. But he also acted under the influence of pressure from without. The nature of the brewing industry and the consumption of its product by the masses of the population brings it about that in the struggles of the brewery workers with brewery capitalists, the decision rests far less with the brewery workmen themselves than with the attitude of the mass of the working people. If these masses, because of a feeling of solidarity with the struggling workers, refuse to buy the product of the brewery in question, then as a rule there is nothing left for the owner, even if his plant is well supplied with workmen, but to force the men in his employ to join the union; he is compelled to strengthen his own enemy. There are numerous cases where the workers were thus forced by the brewery owners to join the union. Indeed, at the beginning of organization, it even happened that workers were disciplined by the brewery capitalists because they did not obey the order to join the union.

This compulsion by which numerous workingmen were driven into their union is the weak point of the brewery workers' organization of this country. How many members of the United Brewery Workmen would be members, if they were not exposed to this compulsion

and if the brewery owner did not fear a boycott against his product on the part of the general labor movement? And it is well known how the ruling class, especially in America, is fighting tooth and nail to take the weapon of the boycott out of the hands of the workers.

It is an exceedingly important question for the organization to make the brewery workers members, not because there is a pressure from without, not because the capitalist is forced to become a union brewer, but from a realization by the workman himself of the fact that the union is a necessity and that it is in his own interest to belong to it under any circumstances, whether his employer wishes it or not—indeed, especially against the employer's will.

In regard to this question, as well as to the aims and principles of the general labor movement, clear ideas have to be established within the brewery workers' organization. The union must establish such a state of affairs that it can be sure of each of its members under any circumstances, and not by means of outward pressure, but because of a clear understanding.

And to attain this end a systematic work of enlightenment is necessary, which can best be done by agitators and lecturers who make this kind of work their specialty. This may involve expense, but it will be worth while if it is successful in making the mass of the members think and if it causes them to read their own union organ and the labor press in general.

Moreover, the future of the brewery workers' organization depends upon the further extension of the industrial form of organization and its connection with the most progressive part of the labor movement. The attempt has already been made to get into closer connection with the other unions of the food trades, for the present without result. These attempts ought to be repeated.

The political organization of the working class, the Socialist movement, must be supported and promoted by the brewery workers with all their might in the interest of their own organization and in the interest of the final goal of the entire labor movement, the annihilation of wage slavery, the ending of class rule. The brewery worker must raise himself to the recognition of the fact that his struggle is only a part of that general struggle which is waged by the working class of all countries and which has as its aim the complete emancipation of labor. He must realize that this general struggle is his struggle also, that it must end in victory if the proletarians are not forever to remain proletarians.

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PART III.

Obstacles to the Development of the
Brewing Industry.

CHAPTER I.

Prohibition and Sunday Closing.

1. THE PURITANS.

WITH the history of the brewing industry in the United States and the record of the struggles of the brewery workers in this country, is intimately connected a movement which in many respects affects the development of that industry and of those struggles, and which therefore cannot be left out of account in this work. This movement, which is in part directed against the abuse of alcoholic drinks, is the temperance and prohibition movement and the attempt to maintain and enforce a legal regulation of the observance of Sunday, in opposition to the needs created by modern development.

In order to understand the origin of this movement it is necessary to turn our eyes to the population which first settled the Northern portion of the United States, and to acquaint ourselves with their point of view and their customs and thus to explain the laws which they not only made for themselves, but which they also later imposed upon many other states of the Union through the influence which they exercised in the further settlement of this country.

The Puritans who, beginning in 1620, settled the New England States, came from England, where they had formed the Protestant opposition against the State Church which had been established there by the Reformation. The Puritans were not a single definite sect, but represented a general tendency to carry further the opposition to the Catholic Church and "papistry," holding that the English state church still retained too much of the Roman customs and institutions, and seeking to clear and purify

religion from all traces of the pompous Roman Catholic ritual. Hand in hand with this purification of religion went the purification of their own ways of life. The element of joy in life which appeared here and there in the service of the Catholic church was almost entirely excluded from their religion, and as this religion completely dominated their public life, it was also banished from the lives of the Puritans. Their gloomy religion gave them also a gloomy view of life, which destroyed everything beautiful, joyous, and glad.

In contrast to the Southern colonies, where conditions of soil and climate as well as the origin of the colonists led to the existence of large landed property, to the plantation system, small property prevailed in New England. This forced the people to mutual dependence and led to more combined activities than was the case in regions where large property prevailed, where the plantation formed an economic unit in itself. Townships formed themselves in New England, in which the "meeting" became the expression of the religious and family life and in which a representative democratic "town meeting" regulated public affairs. The original townships of New England governed themselves.

The town meetings, however, were completely dominated by the leading personages of the religious "meeting." Religion and the regulation and discharge of public functions were intimately connected. Attendance at church service was compulsory, and—at least such was the case in Massachusetts and Connecticut—no one could vote who was not a member of the church.

The preachers and pastors who gave the tone to the church meeting also played the most important part in the town meeting. The town levied taxes for the maintenance of the church and the payment of the preachers. Considering the religious views of the settlers, it was

inevitable that "the meeting"—that is, the church meeting—should entirely rule the public and social life of the community and determine the direction in which it was to develop.

The whole public life of the New England colonies was influenced by the teachings of the Bible—or rather, by the interpretation given to those teachings by the pastors and elders of the church. Religious conceptions dominated the decrees of the town meetings, the decisions of judges, and general legislation. The church life was the main thing, although they managed very well to co-ordinate it with the possessions of the goods of this world. Gaiety and cheerfulness were suppressed as far as possible and every effort was made to transfer the gloomy view of puritanical religion into the private life of the people. All private and public activity was regulated by law and decree in accordance with religious conceptions. A fine of five shillings was imposed upon anyone who did not go to church, who used an oath, or who laughed during church service. In Plymouth it was enacted that no unmarried single man might live alone. Even married persons were warned against "improper conduct" at night. Single women or women whose husbands were away from home were not permitted to have men lodgers, on account of the "temptation to sin." Meddlers who carried gossip from house to house were punished with heavy fines. Even as late as 1750 the General Court of Massachusetts prohibited all theatrical entertainments. The first theater in Boston was opened in 1794, and in Maine no dancing schools were permitted until 1798.

In Connecticut, where the "Blue Laws"—the religious-social laws of early colonial times—remained in force longer than elsewhere, it was forbidden to give food or lodging to an unbeliever, a Quaker, or other heretic.

Anyone who brought cards into the colony had to pay a fine of five pounds. The use of tobacco was forbidden or regulated by numberless decrees. No one under twenty-one years of age was permitted to use tobacco without a doctor's certificate. According to another regulation, no one was allowed to indulge in the use of tobacco unless he was on a journey of at least ten miles. Games of all kinds—bowling, for instance—were prohibited. Plymouth forbade men and women to dance together, and Massachusetts forbade dancing at weddings, which were held in taverns.* It may be mentioned in passing that there were ordinances to regulate dress—which, by the way, accentuated differences in social standing. The Puritans were, by the way, not the only ones who had these ordinances.

The reader will see that the Puritans sought to regulate every detail not only of the social life, but also the entire private life of individuals, by laws and decrees which all had their root in gloomy religious traditions. The people were so subject to these religious influences that the compulsory laws were really unnecessary for carrying out the effect of the "meeting house," which dominated every detail of life. Even the provision of school instruction was furthered by religious motives. As the whole of life was based on the Bible and its interpretation, it was necessary that everyone should be able to read and understand "the Scriptures," and therefore everyone had to have a certain amount of school training,** and this accounts for a certain promotion of the school system just in the most fanatically religious colonies of New England.

The religious compulsory laws which emanated from

* William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*. Boston and New York. P. 223, etc.

** Frank Tracy Carlton, *Economic Influences upon Educational Progress*. Madison, Wis., 1908. P. 13.

the "meeting house," and which were confirmed and enforced by the town meeting, showed also in other respects a spirit of tyranny and of the dominance of the spiritual and worldly leaders of the community, so that "democracy" was not very strong in the community. All men were declared free and equal and in possession of their "natural" rights to life, liberty, and happiness. But in spite of these well-sounding phrases, men who could not pay their debts were thrown into prison, and the right to vote was by no means extended to all the adult males of the community. Intolerable restrictions burdened the life of the ordinary man. The qualification to vote did not consist in being a man, but in tax-receipts, church membership, and a white skin. The man without land could not be trusted. The man without piety could have no political power.*

The rule of preachers and pastors, elders and magistrates was particularly oppressive for the workingmen and servants. There was a scarcity of laborers and mechanics, and as a rule they were bound by some compulsory contract to their masters. The workingmen stood very low in the social scale and were despised. Servants were ill-treated. Disobedience and breach of contract was punished with whippings, imprisonment, and fines. The different colonies mutually agreed to return runaway servants. The lack of workers finally led to Negro and Indian slavery, even in pious New England.

Like all ruling classes, the Puritan colonists had a real abhorrence of high wages—that is, if they had to pay them. The "court" decided what the wage was to be. Originally it was two shillings a day for artisans. In the beginning both parties were legally punished if higher wages than those prescribed were paid. Later a law was passed in Massachusetts according to which only he who

* Carlton, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

received higher wages—that is, the workingman—was to be fined ten shillings.

In 1645 a law was enacted, also in Massachusetts, according to which workingmen might not be required to accept their wages in the form of wine; later this law was made more strict and the payment of wages in wine was entirely forbidden. The preamble to this law did not state that it was an injustice to pay workmen otherwise than in current coin, or that drunkenness would be promoted by this custom—although this was incidentally mentioned—but the reason given was that “the pressure of extraordinarily high wages would be heightened by this custom.” Because laborers were scarce, they were everywhere driven to work. Tavern-keepers were forbidden to install games in their places, because “valuable time would thus be wasted.” And in the year 1675 constables were employed who had to see that there was no one in any house or family “who spent his time in idleness.”

In this social environment, thoroughly impregnated with biblical and religious vapors, those laws, ordinances, and customs came into being which throughout almost the entire Union have made the American Sunday unpleasant for so many, and which have not even been removed today, after centuries of struggle.

2. THE SALOON AND SUNDAY LEGISLATION.

It is evident that in a society where religious views dominated the public and private life as they did in the colonies of New England, special emphasis would be laid upon the observance of “the Lord’s Day,” or Sunday.

In fact, innumerable enactments and decrees were at that time issued in New England in order to enforce the holiness of the Sabbath, and a large part of the laws in regard to Sunday observance which are still in force were

established in that period. Indeed, many of the most rigorous of these old laws are still to be found in our statute books; while in general no one ventures to call them into action, yet they still have the force of law and may occasionally be used by some fanatical judge.

The religious sense of the community during colonial times, of course, forbade any business to be transacted on Sunday—for example, no ship was permitted to leave port on that day. But beyond this, there were regulations which today seem so ridiculous as to be almost incredible; and yet many of them are still laws in some parts of the country.

In Connecticut no one was allowed to run or walk around on Sunday, not even in his own garden. Only upon one route might anyone travel, and that was to church or "meeting house" and back. In Providence a man was fined twenty shillings as late as 1715 because he had gone out riding on a Sunday. In 1760 a number of young men and girls were brought into court because they had assembled on Sunday, "the Lord's Day," and had walked on the street together, without this exercise serving any religious purpose. One was not permitted to travel on a Sunday, to cook vegetables or make the beds, to sweep the house, cut the hair or shave. No woman was permitted to kiss her child on the Sabbath, to say nothing of kissing her husband. This prohibition has legal force in Connecticut even today. In October, 1908, in the city of Waterbury, a man was brought before the court because he had kissed his wife in public on a Sunday. The judge had the good taste not to bring forth the law against kissing on Sundays to sanction him in punishing the man, but he fined him twenty dollars for "disorderly conduct."

The Sunday laws are closely connected with the laws against the drinking and the sale of alcoholic beverages.

In part the sale of these beverages was entirely forbidden, partly it was permitted under special conditions, generally under a special license. The drinking of healths was forbidden, and the Massachusetts law against this practice was not repealed until 1645. In 1647 Connecticut as well as Rhode Island issued ordinances to regulate the sale of alcoholic drinks. As often as attempts were made in the early times to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors altogether, these attempts always failed. Their failure was inevitable, because economic reasons compelled the colonists and their religious leaders to sacrifice their religious scruples did they not want to injure the colonies economically.

The colonies were compelled to exchange their respective products with each other. Soon after the founding of the colonies a lively communication then ensued by horse and wagon for the conduct of business. The Indian footpaths were transformed into roads. Lodgings had to be provided for the travelers who frequented these roads. Thus inns, hotels, and taverns became an economic necessity.

Permission to keep an inn always had to be sought from the town meeting, which was entirely dominated by the church elders and preachers. Nevertheless, they were forced to grant permits for the establishment of inns. Under the pressure of necessity, Rhode Island repealed its former license law in 1654 and instructed each community to pick out one or two houses in which travelers could be served. Legislation and public opinion, which were entirely dependent on and influenced by the clergy and the prevailing religious views, made the existence of the inns and the drinking customs connected with them a difficult one. But the necessities of public life developed the inns and taverns and drove them to struggle against the legislation and the tendencies in the town

meetings dictated by the clergy. Taverns and inns became a social institution, whose functions can easily be understood if one considers that there were no railroads and that all traffic—extending from New England by way of New Amsterdam (New York) as far as Virginia—had to be conducted by horse and wagon.

In the beginning if a traveler wanted something to drink in any inn in Massachusetts, he could not be served, for the General Court had prohibited the serving of liquor and saw to it very sharply that only such persons as observed the law were granted permits as innkeepers. If a traveler wanted to vary the monotony of his plain meals during his trip and ordered some cake or a bun, that was again not a simple matter, for the town court had forbidden indulgence in such articles of luxury except at weddings and funerals. The brewers were not permitted to sell in the inns any beer that was stronger than eight shillings a barrel. On the other hand, innkeepers were commanded to serve as plain meals as were ordered and not force "poor people" to have dishes which cost twelve pence and more.*

In spite of the opposition of the clergy and the church elders, even two decades after the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers there were inns all over New England.

In 1637 John Holgrave erected an inn in Salem, "in response to the urgent demand of the community," for the purpose of sheltering strangers.

In the same year Dorchester and Newbury got their first inns. In the following year similar houses were established in Charlestown and Duxbury. Rhode Island also got its first inn in Portsmouth in 1638, which was at the same time a brewery and a grocery store. In 1641 inns were established in Roxbury, Lynn, and Ipswich.

To what an extent inns were an economic necessity

* Weeden, *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

can be seen from the fact that in 1642 the Hollanders built a large stone inn on the East River in New Amsterdam for the special use of "the numerous strangers who passed through New Amsterdam on their way from New England to Virginia."

The growing traffic between the different settlements and colonies necessitated the extension of the system of roads and thereby created a further need for the erection of inns to shelter and feed travelers. A law which had been passed in Massachusetts in 1637 and which strictly forbade the serving of spirituous drinks, could not be enforced in the face of the growing traffic and its requirements, and in the very next year it was found necessary to grant licenses for that purpose. At that time especially licenses began to be granted for the serving of wine, which then began to be imported from Madeira. But there was also such a thing as the withdrawal of licenses, as John Charles, of New Haven, found out, whose wine license was taken away because there was much "disorder" in his tavern.

The antagonism which the town meeting, under the control of the church, showed to the inns and taverns and the annoyance caused them and their customers by supervision of all kinds, which was carried out with religious fervor, naturally heightened the already existing opposition between the meeting on the one hand and the tavern interests on the other. The travelers who frequented the inns, by reason of their intercourse and business interests outgrew the narrow views of the meeting house and on account of their material interests began to look upon the strict religious regulations with a certain disdain. In addition to this those elements of the population who on account of some rebellious tendencies did not feel quite at home in the meeting house, or had perhaps been excluded from the communion of the pious

on account of some of the many things which were looked upon as sins, found their refuge in the inn. Here at least one could escape a little from the narrow restrictions which encircled the social life of this extremely religious community. Here one could get news from distant parts which the travelers brought with them—almost the only kind of information obtainable in that time before the advent of the newspaper. The innkeeper came to have an important position in public life. He was an influential man. The common-room of the inn gradually developed into a center not only of the social, but also of the political life, in whose atmosphere also that gaiety and joy of life could be freely expanded which were systematically suppressed in the meeting house and the town meeting. The inn and its owner came to be the center of opposition against a legislation and a social sentiment which sought to banish all mirth from the life of the people. The struggle began between tavern and legislation. It has continued ever since, and is not yet at an end.

The preachers and the religious element of the community naturally saw in the tavern—and rightly, too, from their point of view—an institution which must be fought with all their power. There those people assembled who did not want to submit to their influence, or whom they had even expelled from their midst. The interests of the host, and therefore also his opinions, were on the side of his customers, and he naturally met attempts at restricting his trade both by personal and collective resistance.

The restricting decrees and the supervising activity of the representatives of the dominant element resulted in the opposition between the tavern and the public power being dragged on for a couple of centuries, down to our own times, when it became possible to establish a connection between them, to create mutual interests for both

which hold them together and unite them—namely, capitalistic corruption.

3. SUNDAY LAWS AND PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS.

The "Blue Laws" of New England and the legal restrictions which were aimed against a free and joyous Sunday spread with the spread of the New Englanders over the entire North and West of the Union. The development of economic relations and the necessities of daily life did away with many of these laws, put them out of use without, however, bringing about their entire repeal. Even less in America than elsewhere have men understood the importance of Buckle's saying, that the best legislation consists in repealing old laws. Thus a great number of antiquated enactments still vegetate in our statute books, and occasionally some pious soul upon the judicial bench attempts to rescue them from oblivion by calling them again into use. But as a rule the disrespectful laughter of the public causes the use of the old provision to be abandoned and it is again relegated to its obscure resting place.

This is true in general. But it is not the case with regard to the Sunday laws.

From colonial times down to the present day, a struggle has gone on between the masses who do not want their hours of recreation and enjoyment on Sunday taken from them and the religious forces who try by all means to make Sunday a Sabbath, a "day of the Lord," a religious holiday and not a day of pleasure and recreation. The interests of the clergy and church leaders on the one side and the interests of the saloonkeepers and their friends on the other are opposed to each other in a struggle for domination over the masses on Sunday, as much today as they were two or three centuries ago.

However, this struggle has in the course of years assumed a heightened form.

First of all, the opposition between Sunday fanatics and the population was strengthened by the arrival of masses of immigrants from countries in which the puritanical spirit had never dominated and where even religious views were not a contradiction to the enjoyment of life, or where liberal opinions prevailed in regard to religion and matters connected therewith. Especially the German immigrants took part from the very beginning in the fight against the opposition to a free and open observance of Sunday in American circles in which the spirit of the Puritans had been maintained. Particularly in the large cities where the German element gathered, has this struggle against Sunday restriction gained greater strength; though it cannot be said that the Germans in America have won much for their manner of celebrating Sunday.

Another reason for the increase in the opposition between church and saloon interests lies in the development of industry, which has created a class of wage laborers who are interested in having one day in the week when by a stimulating sociability they can recuperate from the intense work of the other six days.

The puritanical spirit, however, which survives in the descendants of the New England people, would not *alone* be sufficient to keep up the strict laws of their forefathers for the regulation of the Sunday celebration, if another element had not come to their assistance, which originally was completely opposed to their view of life, but had an economic interest in the maintenance of the Sunday laws.

This element of the population, which is peculiar to America, consists of the professional politicians, who have far greater influence in the local than in the national politics of the country.

In industrial regions the Sunday laws would long ago have succumbed to the opposition of the masses, if these professional politicians had not prevented it.

In many states the Sunday laws have become the lever with which the professional politicians lead the masses into certain political directions.

The Sunday laws are maintained for the purpose of being violated. The transgression of the Sunday law forms the connecting link between the saloonkeeper and the police and politicians, who are paid for these violations of law. If the saloonkeeper does not contribute to the corruption fund, he is prosecuted on the basis of the law and his business is ruined. The saloonkeeper is entirely in the hands of the police and politicians, who in turn, on account of his dependence upon them, force him to do their political dirty work. The Sunday laws have made the saloonkeepers into political agents for the capitalist parties. In the large cities they have become the mightiest weapon by which the politicians maintain the dominance of their party. The "struggle for Sunday liberty" is artificially agitated, whenever the politicians have no other question at hand by means of which they can interest the masses in their campaigns. All capitalist parties therefore have an interest in the maintenance of the Sunday laws, not to enforce them, but to permit them to be violated. In many cases the party which during the election campaign has declared in favor of the repeal of the Sunday laws does not keep its promise when it gets into power, although it would be an easy matter for it to do so. They do not repeal these laws because they need them very much in their professional politics, indeed, because such laws are just the means by which they can keep up their rule in the large cities.

The political history of every large city in America is the same in regard to the Sunday question and the fight

for Sunday liberty. Everywhere do these laws exist, mitigated by corruption, and it has been shown everywhere that it is absolutely futile to expect a final solution of the question from the professional politicians. Again and again they have shown that they have not the least intention to give up the power which the existence of the Sunday laws places in their hands.

It is therefore a very ridiculous proceeding when the German "Spiessbürgerthum" of our country is again and again caught by the silly phrases of "personal liberty," of "Sunday freedom," and the like, which the German professional politicians use in order to catch them and in due time to convert their influence into cash money. Sunday freedom will not be gained in America as long as politics is conducted as a business for the benefit of professional politicians, as long as the brewer element itself, with its great material means and its great political influence, does not strive for a free Sunday, so long as the industrial districts with their population of wage-workers do not show greater political independence from the country districts than heretofore. Not until our whole life has undergone a thorough reform will the capitalist political element permit the Sunday laws to be done away with, which they know how to use as the best weapon in their struggle for power and possession.

4. THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT.

Since colonial times the idea that the evils resulting from drunkenness can best be combated by prohibiting the preparation and sale of alcoholic drinks has, in one form or another, found its representatives, and these have striven in proportion to their power to carry this idea into effect.

In this matter religious organizations have acted hand in hand with various reform elements. All kinds of means

have been tried in the state and in the community from which a restriction or total abolition of the consumption of alcoholic beverages was expected. Even before the Civil War there were everywhere state temperance unions which tried to influence legislation, and in a number of states the temperance people succeeded in carrying prohibition laws, license legislation, or other regulations which made the preparation and sale of intoxicating liquors more difficult.

Maine was the first state to enact a prohibition law, in 1846. Then followed Illinois and Ohio in 1851, in the following year Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and then Connecticut in 1854. In several states of the West, such as Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Indiana, prohibition laws were enacted in 1855, also in New York and New Hampshire. The New York and Indiana laws, however, were declared unconstitutional. Vermont established a prohibition law in 1856. Of all the states which enacted prohibition laws before the Civil War, only Maine has adhered to them; there they have been in force uninterruptedly since 1846, with the exception of the two years, 1856 and 1857. All the other states repealed these laws.

The Civil War pushed the question of prohibition into the background for the time, and during the war little was heard of the temperance movement. But the war caused a great increase in the consumption of liquor. It had also brought about the internal revenue on alcoholic drinks, and on account of the large income which this taxation gave to the government, the distillers and brewers with their economic interests had acquired a political importance which they knew well how to use. In those states where there were legal restrictions upon the sale of liquor, political campaigns were inaugurated against these laws with all the corrupt means which in such cases are used in America by persons who have almost

inexhaustible funds at their disposal for the purpose. In some states these campaigns had the desired effect. The temperance people were defeated; and under the influence of this defeat and in consideration of the means which their opponents had employed, they decided to form a national organization and to further their ends on the political field by independent political action.

The organizing convention for the founding of a prohibition party assembled in Chicago on the first of September, 1869. It declared itself in favor of the most far-reaching compulsory measures and demanded the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors except for technical and medicinal purposes. It was pointed out that drunkenness increases poverty and misery and in part causes it. Besides the church element who from religious motives wished to annihilate "the demon Rum," a reform element played a part in the prohibition movement, who saw in the sale of drinks a social evil against which it was necessary to take action. They attacked an outgrowth of capitalism without recognizing its causes.

The Prohibition party has since its foundation taken part independently in all national elections. It has regularly put up its own Presidential candidates, but has so far never mustered any considerable number of votes. In 1872 its Presidential candidate got only 5,607 votes, which number increased by 1880 to 9,678; but in 1884 it made a sudden jump to 150,626. In 1892 the Prohibition candidate got 270,710 votes, which number decreased in the next election to 130,617. In 1904 the national vote of the Prohibitionists amounted to 258,788, and at the last election to 241,252.

National elections do not give a correct idea of the strength of the Prohibitionists. Their adherents are influential in many local circles and within both capitalist

parties, and they act far more on the quiet than in the open—and with success, as the last few years have proved.

The question how far a state can go against an industry in order to restrict this industry or even to forbid it, has been decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1887. The decision was a complete victory for the Prohibitionists. The Court declared that in order to maintain public health, security, and morals, the state had the right to destroy property even if doing so infringed on personal property rights. This decision was a heavy blow to the brewing and distillery interests.

In recent times the prohibition movement has unquestionably had great success. In a number of states even now total prohibition prevails, and it must not be forgotten that also in many counties and townships in a large number of other states the Prohibitionists have won great successes.

Of course, this success is due more to the propagation of the idea of "local option"—that is, the independent decision by certain districts whether they want to have saloons within their limits or not—than to the spread of the idea of prohibition itself.

The question of local option is raised wherever the agitation for absolute prohibition by the state has no chance of success. The leaders of the National Anti-Saloon League, the society which carries on the local option movement, demand laws according to which each county or municipality is given the right to decide for itself whether or not it will permit the existence of saloons within its limits. These societies have very great means at their disposal which they get from rich persons—especially from parties interested in the candy industry—and from church organizations. The decision in most cases under local option is influenced much more by property considerations than by temperance principles. No one

likes to have a saloon in his neighborhood, whose existence generally lowers the value of adjacent property. Therefore people vote for local option and against the granting of saloon licenses. Of course, there are a number of other reasons why the local option movement is growing, but it is certain that material considerations play an important part.

The Prohibition party in its convention preceding the last Presidential election, adopted a platform which included the following principal planks:

The submission by Congress to the various states of a constitutional amendment forbidding the preparation, sale, import, export and transportation of alcoholic liquors for drinking purposes.

The immediate prohibition of the trade in alcoholic liquors for drinking purposes in the District of Columbia, in the territories, and in all places in which the Federal Government has jurisdiction; the repeal of the internal revenue tax on alcoholic drinks; and the prohibition of interstate commerce in such beverages.

Election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Progressive income and inheritance taxes.

Establishment of postal savings banks and guaranty of bank deposits.

Regulation of all corporations which do interstate business.

Establishment of a permanent tariff commission.

Strict enforcement of the law instead of toleration and licensing of the social evil in many of the larger cities.

Uniform marriage and divorce laws.

An adequate and constitutional employers' liability law.

Judicial investigation of the postal decisions.

Prohibition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories.

Legislation which will make the right to vote dependent upon ability to read and write the English language.

Conservation of the mineral and forest resources of the country and improvement of roads and waterways.

It will be seen from the above that, besides the prohibition measures desired, the platform contains a number

of progressive demands which can be supported even from the labor standpoint—as, for instance, the abolition of child labor, a national employers' liability law, etc. But then again the reactionary character of the prohibition movement expresses itself in the attempt to restrict the suffrage and make it more difficult for the immigrants who come to this country to become voters. From the point of view of the workingman this movement has to be opposed, if only for the reason that it seeks to make Sunday, the only day of recreation for the masses, into a day for retirement and solemn meditation instead of a day of recreation and enjoyment.

5. THE BREWING INDUSTRY AND PROHIBITION.

It is only natural that the brewery capitalists should try with all the means at their disposal to resist the prohibition movement and the laws which are directed against the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors.

The brewers wished to extend their product to create new markets for their beer, to introduce it where until now it had not been used. Their material interests demanded that they sell as large quantities as possible so as to get as great a profit as possible out of their business.

To this material advantage the prohibition movement was opposed; it injured the brewery capitalists and they tried to protect themselves. They put their great powers into operation in order to work against prohibition. Public opinion was influenced by pointing out the danger to "personal liberty," "morality," and other things which in reality have nothing to do with the matter.

At the first convention of the Brewers' Association at which the question of prohibition was taken up as a political factor—at St. Louis in 1866—a resolution was adopted which declared that "the fanatics, while pretending to support Sunday and temperance laws, in reality

seek to destroy the self-respect and independence of the people and the freedom of conscience and action."

High-sounding phrases of this sort were used so frequently in German bourgeois circles of our country in the fight for "beer liberty," that those who use them have gradually become ridiculous, and so the whole movement against prohibition laws and restrictive Sunday legislation has suffered very much.

In reality there is behind these fine phrases only the interest of the beer brewer, who does not want his business spoiled.

Now, there would be nothing to say against this if the brewers always used only honorable methods in their defensive warfare against the Prohibitionists.

But this has not always been the case.

With the prohibition laws which have been overthrown by corrupt and by honest means, a number of laws have also been destroyed which would have well served the interests of the public, but which on the other hand would have brought about a supervision of the brewery industry. Thus, laws for the inspection of beer and laws against the adulteration of foods and drinks have been done away with by the brewers' political tools, under the pretense that these were laws which restricted "personal liberty," etc., and that they were "in direct opposition to the principle of individual freedom and political equality upon which our American Union is founded."

And in addition to this fight under false colors—the clearly personal interest being disguised as a question of general warfare—means were used to promote the development of the beer industry and to gain advantages from this development, which made the fight against the beer industry a thoroughly justified one.

Without consideration of the health of the consumers, beer was sold in the preparation of which injurious materials

of all kinds were used. Such worthless beer was brewed—one only needs to think of the sort of beer which as a rule is served to the masses at labor festivals—that its sale was a direct robbery of the workmen. Adulterations of all kinds—which, of course, are not considered adulterations by the brewers—were and are still used, so that a strict control by the state is very much to be desired.

While the brewery capitalists thus worked into the hands of the prohibition movement, their objections and arguments against that movement were of a deceptive nature. They pointed out that their industry had to provide in the form of taxes a large part of the expenses of the state, but they were silent about the fact that this tax was shifted to the masses of the population, the consumers of beer. They declared that they worked against the use of whisky by replacing it with beer. This is strictly true, for while the consumption of whisky has remained the same for the last forty years, or has even decreased a little, the average consumption of beer has grown from five to twenty-two gallons per capita of the population. And if it could be proved that the use of beer and the beer industry are really so harmful, and bring in their wake such misfortunes and evils as the Prohibitionists assert, then the fact that so and so many thousands earn their living by that industry would not count in favor of its maintenance, and even less the fact that so and so many hundred millions of capital are invested in the industry. Whatever is harmful and dangerous to the community must be abolished. Then the interest of the individual does not count, not even the interest of whole sections. The welfare of the community is the highest law.

But this harmfulness of the use of beer, of which the Prohibitionists speak, has not been proved. In the same way as the brewery capitalists, the Prohibitionists fight

with specious arguments, with proofs which are no proofs. Drunkenness is not, as has been asserted, the chief cause of poverty and crime, although it cannot be denied that it often brings great misery in its wake; but it is much more the result of poverty than its cause. The statistics which are brought into the controversy by both sides prove nothing, for the figures are arranged differently and interpreted differently according as they are needed. The argument that the workingmen would have "saved" so and so many millions of dollars if they had done without alcoholic drinks is a false conclusion; and another false conclusion is the argument offered that poor-houses, insane asylums, and prisons would not be needed if there were no saloons and no alcoholic liquors were sold.

The fight between the beer capitalists and the Prohibitionists is a conflict of interests. With the brewers it is a question of business advantage. In the Prohibition movement religious and material interests are at work which see their advantage in the prohibition of the sale of liquors. The workingmen, however, have their own interests as against both the beer capitalists and the Prohibitionists, and the protection of their own interests determines the position which they have to take in regard to this question.

CHAPTER II.

Workingmen and Prohibition.

1. THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

FOR other reasons than those given by the brewery capitalists workingmen have to oppose the prohibition movement, and for other reasons than those offered by the Prohibitionists the working class defends the proposition that an excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks is an evil. They have to use means different from those used by either of the others in opposition to the efforts of the beer and whisky capitalists to impose their drinks upon the people, as well as to oppose the compulsory laws advocated by the Prohibitionists, who would forbid even the harmless indulgence in drinks and restrict the enjoyments of the masses.

The different position which the workingmen take in the prohibition question in contrast to the beer capitalists and the beer Philistines who constitute their following on the one hand, and to the Prohibitionists on the other hand, rests on the fact that the use and misuse of alcoholic liquors have their social aspect; that they are closely connected with the existing conditions in society, and that by the social side of the question the working class is most affected.

We have already seen that the development of modern industry in the United States goes hand in hand with an increase in the consumption of beer—an increase which may be described as enormous, even though it must be conceded that in this respect the United States does not stand at the head of the “civilized” world. The consumption of beer increases with the increased industrializing of the country, so closely connected with the capitalistic

development. And just as the use of alcoholic drinks has increased as a consequence to this development, so, too, has their abuse.

The crowding together of people in the factories, as is furthered by the development of industry, the terrible haste, the strenuous life and nervous exhaustion to which the industrial worker is exposed—all this demands and promotes the use of stimulants. And from use to abuse is but one step. The tired workman comes home. Only too frequently he finds in his tenement dwelling a place which offers to his tired body, suffering from lack of light and air, even less recreation than does the factory itself. He needs stimulus and excitement. The intense work at the machine, which during the long hours has used up not only all his bodily strength, but also his brain strength, has put him in a condition of mental fatigue which forbids every kind of intellectual amusement. He takes no interest in anything. He goes to the saloon. He drinks, and often drinks more than he can stand in his condition of bodily and mental exhaustion. Thus many workmen fall victims to the vice of drunkenness from the pressure of social conditions.

But other social causes, too, which all have the same source, tend mightily to force the mass of workingmen from the use to the abuse of alcoholic drinks. Long working hours and low wages promote drunkenness. Need, which results from the inadequate wages of labor, drives thousands into the arms of drink, for insufficient nourishment leads to the use and abuse of alcohol. The shortening of working hours in any trade has always produced a decrease in the use of alcohol among the workmen affected. Special conditions in particular trades also promote the use of intoxicating drinks. The dust produced in working with wood, stone, many metals, and in all the textile industries; the lack of ventilation; the

intense heat in which men work before the glowing furnaces of the foundry and the glassworks; the discomfort of weather conditions in the building trades, the heat in the summer, the damp and cold in winter; the necessity of eating in the saloon, which leads directly to the necessity of drinking—all these are causes that create thirst which must be quenched and which too frequently lead to the use and then to the abuse of intoxicating drinks.

The practice of drinking while at work is much preached against. But as can be seen, the conditions of work create thirst, and the employers but too rarely see that adequate beverages for quenching thirst are at hand. Water rarely drives away the feeling of thirst; indeed, in great artificial or natural heat it makes one feel weak, makes the workingman unfit to work. Modern labor conditions force the workmen to drink. Drunkenness has its root in the excessive exploitation of workingmen by capitalism. Every improvement in the condition of the workingmen brings about a diminution in drunkenness. This is a fact which shows more plainly than anything else the method that must be used in combating this evil. To fight against the causes of the abuse of alcohol is to fight against their effect. The hours of labor must be shortened in order to prevent the bodily and mental exhaustion of the workingmen; wages must be raised in order to make proper nourishment possible; good housing conditions and wholesome surroundings in the places of employment must be provided—in general, improved conditions of the workingmen in every direction will cause the excessive use of alcoholic liquors to disappear, as far as it can disappear under the present system.

But the bourgeois world, which lives from the exploitation of labor, which indeed owes its entire existence to

that, will oppose with all its might the improvement of the condition of the workers; and even the Prohibitionist who honestly battles against the "Rum Devil" may well consider whether to continue his fight, when this must be done on the basis of fighting the entire existing social order. He must, then, develop from reformer to revolutionist, from Prohibitionist to Socialist. But then he will not feel the need for fighting drunkenness alone; he will have come to the conclusion that the destruction of the cause is far more important, far more sensible, than mere fighting against effects. He will ascribe to the trade-union movement, which seeks to improve the present condition of the workingmen, a greater role than to his prohibitionist organization. He will see in the Socialist movement, which strives to do away entirely with capitalistic exploitation and thus entirely to remove the causes of drunkenness, a civilizing factor which far exceeds in importance his prohibition movement, and which makes the latter unnecessary. He will recognize, together with the enlightened working class, that the battle against drunkenness can best be waged in the general class struggle of the workingmen and in the organizations which this class struggle produces.

2. THE POSITION OF THE WORKINGMEN WITH REGARD TO PROHIBITION.

From the preceding, the attitude which the workingmen ought to take in regard to prohibition can be inferred in general.

They oppose prohibition because it does not go to the heart of the matter, because its fight is not directed against the causes of drunkenness, because it does not attack the evil at its root.

Who would deny that drunkenness is a fearful evil? But also, who can deny that, for instance, the use of

beer, which is a light alcoholic drink, has contributed much to prevent the excessive consumption of whisky? That the average consumption of distilled spirituous liquors in the United States has remained stationary during the last forty years, that in spite of the development of industry it has not increased, is undoubtedly due to the extension of the use of beer, the consumption of which has in fact increased enormously. In comparison to an increase in the consumption of whisky, which would undoubtedly have taken place if the use of beer had not prevented it, the present condition is undoubtedly to be preferred.

The Prohibitionists, however, make no distinction between strong and weak alcoholic drinks. They do not ask whether every kind of alcoholic beverage is injurious, whether total abstinence is necessary or whether simple moderation will suffice. Scientists are not altogether agreed upon this question. It is certain, however, that the use of alcoholic drinks has different effects on different individuals. It is admitted that the excessive use of even mild drinks, such as beer, may lead to diseases of the heart, kidneys and liver; but, on the other hand, it is asserted that not all use of alcohol is injurious, but only when carried beyond a certain limit, and that the limit is not the same for all persons. The Prohibitionists assert that wherever prohibition has been introduced it has never yet been a failure. The other side contradicts this. The president of the distillery trust declared some time ago that the only thing that the prohibition laws change is the manner in which whisky reaches the consumers. It is an old experience that the prohibition of the liquor traffic promotes smuggling of alcoholic drinks, and because a small quantity of whisky is more easily smuggled in than the same amount of alcohol in the form of beer, the use of whisky is thus increased. The man who has

money can get all the intoxicating drinks he wants, even in prohibition states, and the prohibition affects only the poor man. And it affects him only in the direction that it makes the procuring of spirituous liquors more difficult for him, and especially that it compels him to take the worst possible kinds of beverages, actual poisons, which make a beast of him. In many places in Maine, where prohibition has prevailed the longest, obscure and dingy whisky holes can be found where workingmen seek their recreation. These dens are supposed to be secret places, but everyone knows about them. Those who frequent them are despised even by their own families, and as a matter of fact, hardly anywhere are such degraded people to be found as in these secret whisky dens. In spite of this degradation of the people as a consequence of the prohibition laws in Maine, and in spite of the destruction of the family by these laws, the Prohibitionists declare that their laws against drunkenness are successful. They consider it a success that they have driven the drinking of the rich from public places into the privacy of their homes. The fact that they have brought the workingmen to the most degraded kind of drinking does not give them any concern. The workingmen do not count as belonging to the people.

In addition, it is asserted, and from official sources, that wherever prohibition prevails, the use of opium increases markedly. Furthermore, the investigations of the health authorities in Massachusetts have established the fact that people evade the prohibition laws by the use of patent medicines, which contain considerably more alcohol than does either whisky or brandy. All this must be taken into consideration in forming an opinion about prohibitory legislation. It is ineffective as regards its purpose, and in addition to that, it is even injurious; it puts up barriers to pleasure and the enjoyment of life which are

unnecessary and which increase the sadness of this too sad world—therefore workingmen ought to declare themselves against prohibition.

But they ought to oppose it on quite other grounds from those taken by the brewing and distilling capitalists and their bourgeois adherents.

Workingmen should stand for moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages. They should protect themselves from being given drinks of poor quality, adulterated, often positively poisonous. They should demand that the laws against the adulteration of foods and drinks be enforced strictly, in the brewery industry as well as in others, and that this industry be placed under strict state control in order to prevent adulteration. The working class furthermore should strive through the political struggle towards the end that all industries, and among them the brewing industry, be taken over by the state and socialized; then no one will any longer have an interest in cheating and poisoning the masses with bad and adulterated beverages.

That is the course which the working class, along with its general activities for the improvement of its conditions, has to pursue for the special purpose of counteracting the abuse of alcohol and its resultant evils. This course is not the same as that taken by the capitalists of the alcohol industry nor that of the bourgeois prohibitionist movement. The workingmen's interests in regard to the questions of temperance and prohibition are different from those of the beer and whisky capitalists, and also different from those of the advocates of prohibition. On this question as on every other, it is necessary that they maintain their class character. In relation to prohibition and all that is connected with it, as in other matters, the workingmen are strongest when standing alone.

3. WORKINGMEN AND THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

The Sunday question, which is generally lumped together with the question of prohibition, is by no means identical with it. The drink question is only a part of the Sunday question, and by no means the most important part.

The legal restrictions which in America have been imposed upon the observance of Sunday are in the main of a religious character. With the keeping of Sunday as a day of rest for the workers—that is, as a social regulation—these restrictions have nothing to do. They have been established for the purpose of promoting a religious spirit and are carried out with religious fanaticism and intolerance, in so far as they are not relaxed by means of political corruption.

The drink question is, as we have said, only a part of the Sunday question. The Sunday fanatics do not content themselves with trying to close the saloons on Sunday; they insist also that the theaters, museums, concert and dance halls, picture galleries—in short, every place of art and entertainment be closed. They would have Sunday devoted solely to religious edification. Therefore laws are enforced which date from times long since past and which do not fit the present state of society—laws which may, perhaps, have been adapted to the narrow views and social conditions of colonial times (and even then only relatively), but which certainly do not belong in a world like ours of today, and which in spite of all legal provisions, cannot be thoroughly enforced.

The workingman of today needs rest and recreation on Sunday even more than did the workingman of former times. The intense labor which he performs during the week and the mental fatigue connected with it, as well as the small number of hours which his work allows him for recreation during the week, force him to concentrate

his recreation, his rest, and his social life upon Sunday. His need for artistic enjoyment and his efforts for education can be satisfied, in general, only on Sunday. Only on that day, especially in the large cities with their long distances, can he come together with friends and acquaintances and pass a few hours with them. The many workers who have no home—or, as in most cases, such a home as does not deserve the name—are deprived by the Sunday laws of every possibility for social intercourse, rest, and recreation.

It will be seen that the Sunday laws are in the main anti-labor laws, and in reality only the working class is affected by them. The possessing classes do not feel the force of these laws in their comfortably furnished homes, their clubs, and their well-arranged entertainment halls, which, either by special laws or by non-enforcement of the law, are excepted from the effect of the Sunday legislation. But the entertainment places of the workers, the places in which the masses of the population seek enjoyment, are subjected to the restrictions of Sunday legislation, in so far, as has been said before, as this legislation is not modified by police corruption and political graft.

While in other countries the workingmen have to battle for their day of rest on Sunday only against the capitalists, in the United States and in England they have to fight against the capitalists and against the church as well. In the continental countries of Europe the labor organizations have done far more for Sunday rest than have the churches; but they have also preserved their right of Sunday enjoyment. In the United States the church and the legislation influenced by it have done nothing for Sunday enjoyment, but have fought it tooth and nail. For the real social purpose of the observance of Sunday—that is, to give the workingmen a day of rest—church and legislation have cared little; and if they have cared, it was for

religious and seldom for social reasons. So it is that in the United States there are over two million people who follow their regular occupations even on Sunday, without the interference of church or law. Of course, a part of these two million have a free day during the week, but only a part; the rest work for seven days in the week.

It can be seen that the workingmen in our country have to carry on their fight for a free Sunday in two directions—on the one side against the capitalists, on the other against the religionists. It is possible that the fight for Sunday as a day of rest as against the capitalists has in the main been won by the aid of religious influences, although the two millions of Sunday workers show that there is yet much to do in that direction. But it is certain that in the struggle for Sunday enjoyment almost everything yet remains to be done, before the worker will have the legal right to make his rest day also a day of pleasure and enjoyment.

As we have seen, the Sunday laws are in the main anti-labor laws. We have also seen that the repeal of these laws by the great capitalist parties is not to be expected, because these parties either use the maintenance of these Sunday laws in their struggle for power in the state, or they do not wish such laws abolished because they need the assistance of the religious element in their campaigns. The solution of the Sunday question is in the main a matter for the workers, and nothing remains for them but to oppose the Sunday restrictions by means of the same independent political action which they must use in their general social struggle—that is, as an independent party. The struggle for Sunday enjoyment must be carried on together with the general struggle for the emancipation of labor.

It is true that a large part of the bourgeois element has a strong interest in opposing Sunday laws and bring-

ing about a free Sunday. Here belong especially the brewery capitalists and the non-political saloonkeepers, together with a part of the bourgeois reformers and such persons as in their native country have been accustomed to a free Sunday. The saloonkeepers may be entirely disregarded, as, at least in the large cities, they are completely in the hands of the local politicians to whom most of them serve as agents. The other parts of this element it will also be almost impossible to convince that, in the interest of the solution of the Sunday question, they should support the independent political party of the workingmen, the Socialist party, in its struggles. And still this party is the only one, as we have seen, which is in a position to bring about a real solution of the Sunday question by removing all the legal barriers which today stand in the way of the masses in their enjoyment of Sunday rest. And it is the duty of this party to bring to the front the demand for the abolition of the restrictive Sunday laws, even more than it has done hitherto, because these enactments are anti-labor laws. Such a demand is the more practicable for the reason that great bourgeois interests are affected by it, and therefore it has good prospects of success if it is solidly supported by the workingmen. If this is done, then the day may not be far distant when theaters and concert halls in our large cities will be at the disposal of the masses on Sunday, free of charge, as is the case today with our museums and picture galleries, and when in our parks and other public places of recreation crowds of joyous workingmen can gather and spend their hour of pleasure and stimulation in listening to good music and some other artistic entertainment, and at the same time enjoy a glass of good wine or beer.

CHAPTER III.

Taxes and the Brewing Industry.

1. THE BREWING INDUSTRY AND THE RULERS.

FROM the beginnings of the brewing industry, the various municipal and state governments and in general all the ruling powers have paid more attention to the preparation of beer than to any other branch of business. In no other industry do we find so many regulations and enactments, so much interference by the powers of government, as in that of beer-brewing. To some extent this interference, especially in former ages, was the expression of the paternalistic spirit of the rulers of that time, who tried to regulate and adjust every detail of the life of their subjects and citizens. In the main, however, this interference was undertaken because it was early recognized that hardly any other branch of trade offers so favorable a subject for taxation as does the preparation of drinks and their sale, and for many centuries cities and states have derived enormous incomes from the taxation of beverages. Especially in time of war, when armies had to be sent into the field, it was always attempted to procure the necessary means by increasing or introducing taxes on drinks. This happened in England when armies were sent to Jerusalem to fight the Turks. It happened in America in colonial times in order to procure means to fight the Indians. And it also happened in the last Spanish-American war, when the United States undertook to "free" the Cubans from the Spanish yoke.

To a certain rather limited degree, governments have established laws and decrees of various kinds for the purpose of protecting the public against imposition and fraud on the part of the brewers. In former times this was done

by regulating the price of the beverage, by fixing a uniform measure, and by superintending and prescribing the quality and quantity of materials to be used for the preparation of beer. The modern state has given up the legal regulation of price, and has also partly ceased to concern itself with the materials which are used for the production of the brew. In recent times, however, by means of pure food laws, they have again begun to exercise a certain control over the kind and quality of materials out of which beer is made—though by no means on an adequate scale. However, as regards the attitude of governments towards the beer industry, all these matters are of minor importance. For the modern state, as well as for the state of the past, the industry of beer brewing is a field from which it can derive a rich income, and thus the attitude of the ruling powers toward the brewing industry has been determined by the financial advantage which they could gain.

The taxes on the brewing industry were imposed in various forms. The production as well as the sale of the beverage was taxed—the right to brew as well as the right to sell beer. Monopolies for the brewing of beer were created, and these monopolies were sold as a whole or in parts. In short, every imaginable method by which money could be extracted from this trade was resorted to in order to fill the governmental and municipal coffers.

The original beer-tax in Germany consisted in the delivery to the landlords—nobles and clergy—of a certain proportion of the beer produced. Then, at the beginning of the twelfth century, this payment in kind was changed into money payment, which in certain places has become known as "Umgeld," and which affected the baking as well as the brewing and milling industries. Thus a regular taxation of the bread and drink of the people existed even at that time. With the formation of larger states

the beer-tax is found in France and in Lower Austria since the fourteenth century, in Saxony and Brandenburg since the fifteenth, and in Bohemia and Bavaria since the sixteenth century.

Long before this time the cities had made regulations of all kinds for the brewing of beer. As early as the year 1090 we hear of "Biergeldern" (beer money) as a tax which had to be paid to the bishops for the right to brew beer. The princes and bishops, the temporal as well as the clerical lords, demanded for themselves the exclusive right of brewing and selling beer, and conceded that privilege to others only in consideration of the payment of large sums. The cities often acquired from princes and bishops the right of brewing, and either used it themselves or else conceded it to their citizens for an adequate compensation. Often certain families acquired the right to brew, and this then became a kind of monopoly which was identified either with the family itself or with the house which that family had originally occupied and which could be inherited.

Frequently also this brewing right was given to monasteries and other clerical institutions. Thus in 1146 the Abbey of Weihestephan in Bavaria received a brewing concession and in 1286 a Bavarian duke gave the brewing right to a "Hospital of the Holy Spirit."

The city of Dantzic had an ordinance from the magistrate in 1200 which read: "Everyone who brews bad beer shall be thrown on the garbage-dump." In Aachen, at about 1272, whoever did not pay the legal beer-tax was threatened with the cutting off of the right hand and was banished from the city for a period of five years. The brewery in which beer was thus unlawfully made and the house in which it was sold were also threatened with destruction by this same ordinance. In Augsburg and Ulm at this same time there were municipal ordinances

which imposed heavy punishments for the preparation of bad beer or the use of fraudulent measures. Later on, in places in Bavaria, whipping and even the penalty of death were decreed for those persons who sold bad beer, which was characterized as "a crime against Christian love." In Breslau even at the end of the thirteenth century there were police regulations directed against the production of bad beer and the adulteration of hops. Municipal inspectors were appointed to control the breweries.

This control was chiefly for the benefit of the residents, while the welfare of strangers was not taken so seriously. In Frankfort-on-Main the magistrates issued an ordinance in 1466 according to which beer brewers should not sell to the citizens any beer that was less than three weeks old. It was added, however, that beer which was not so old might be sold to strangers.

In Munich in 1539 it was a punishable offense to brew beer in the summer. From the 24th of April until the 29th of September all brewing kettles of the city were sealed, and four municipal inspectors had to see to it that these kettles were not used during that period. In 1566 the magistrates of the same city forbade the use of wheat for brewing, because the wheat crop had turned out badly. In the years from 1571 to 1580, the brewing of beer was prohibited altogether in Munich, because there was a shortage of barley, which grain was at that time also used a great deal for the making of bread.

That the adulteration of beer at that time was just as well understood as it is today, can be seen by the complaint which was made in 1613 to the effect that in the Rhine country beer was brewed which contained "too little malt and too much water," in which willow leaves were used instead of hops, and which was colored with chimney soot.

The many regulations for the protection of beer drink-

ers, however, were not the main reasons for the interference of the rulers with the brewery trade. The principal purpose, as has been said, was to raise taxes and tributes to fill the municipal and state coffers. Whoever wanted to brew beer, had to pay money. In 1372 the citizens of Munich received the privilege to brew their own house beer. But for this they had to pay a yearly tax of six guilders. About the year 1500 every Munich brewer had to pay a three-fold tax. In Brandenburg, towards the end of the fifteenth century, a beer tax was introduced which led to open rebellion. In Stendal the guildsmen besieged the city hall and compelled the magistracy to abolish the tax. Strife and bloodshed and executions followed. During the time of the Thirty Years' War, the tax on beer became so high as to completely ruin the brewing industry, which was already on the decline. In the Seven Years' War also Frederick II took great pains to get out of the taxation of beer the necessary means for maintaining his army. Thereby he killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. The industry was again destroyed in Prussia.

In France and England also in early times the attempt was made to regulate from above the preparation of beer. As early as 1268 legal ordinances were promulgated in Paris which referred to the sale of beer, the apprentice system in the brewery trade, and the adulteration of the product. In England the first tax on beer was introduced in 1188. It was a war tax, devised to bring forth the money which was needed for a new crusade against the Turkish Sultan, who had besieged Jerusalem.

In England also the price and preparation of beer was regulated by ordinance. Already at the beginning of the fifteenth century there existed in England government officials who had to superintend the production and sale of the beverage. The system of licensing ale houses by

the state began in England in the year 1605, and at the time of the English revolution Parliament covered the increased expenses of the state by a considerable increase in the beer tax. This tax which was originally levied only for war purposes, became permanent and was repeatedly increased. In 1660 it amounted to fifteen pence per barrel. In 1648 it was raised to two shillings three pence for strong and nine pence for small beer. By 1688 the beer tax was bringing the English government 666,000 pounds sterling, or in round figures \$3,330,000 a year—which for that time was a considerable sum. In 1694 the beer tax was increased to four shillings nine pence for strong and one shilling three pence for small beer. The government had a very convenient scheme for getting the revenue. They farmed out the tax, and the contractors collected the tax and paid the state a certain sum.

It has already been mentioned that in the American colonies also soon after the arrival of the first settlers the beer was subjected to taxation. The price of the beverage also, its sale and methods of production were legally controlled. In the colonies it was likewise prescribed how much material should be used in brewing. In 1664 it was determined in New Amsterdam that for the brewing of each hogshead (two barrels) of beer four bushels of malt should be used. Today our brewers use far less on the average. The price of the beer was at the same time fixed at not more than two pence per quart.

The first tax law in New Amsterdam was established in 1644 by Governor William Kieft, who wanted to raise money in this way for the repairs of the city fortifications and the payment of the garrison. A tax of two guilders per half-barrel of beer was imposed, half of which was to be paid by the brewer and the other half by the tavern keeper. A beer collector to gather the tax was appointed by the Governor, and in this manner the well-known

"American hand-shake" was introduced with this first tax. The popular representatives opposed this law and antagonisms arose, the development of which we have discussed elsewhere.

In 1655 the system of farming out the tax was introduced into the colonies also. The City Council of New Amsterdam in the year leased the contract for the drink-tax for 5,030 guilders, or \$2,022. At about the same time this same tax was farmed out in "Beverwyck and the neighboring settlements of Esopus, Katskill and Rensselaerswyck" for 2,013 guilders, or \$809.

The colonial authorities also took advantage of the power to grant licenses. In 1637 in Massachusetts Bay a fine of 100 pounds sterling was imposed for the offense of brewing beer without a license. In 1647 the authorities of Fort Amsterdam granted a brewing concession to a carpenter by the name of J. La Battie, for which he had to pay over to the West India Company every year six "salable beaver skins."

It will be seen that the production and the sale of beer were from early times used for purposes of taxation.

2. TAXATION OF BEER IN MODERN TIMES.

We have seen that with the formation of larger states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these states took over from the former rulers the practice of taxing beer and found it a welcome means of filling their coffers. It stands to reason that the modern state, whose tasks and expenditures are constantly increasing and whose army and navy equipments especially swallow up enormous sums, would not abolish this convenient drink-tax, but would rather extend it, and would draw and still draws colossal sums from the production and use of drinks.

The capitalistic development of the brewing industry and its concentration in great establishments have made

the imposition of the beer-tax by the state very easy because by the watching over the production of the beverage the state has the means of easily determining the quantity of the product turned out and can thus collect its tax.

The beer-tax is fixed in most various forms, according to whether the product is taxed in proportion to the quantity of raw materials used or of the finished product, or indirectly in proportion to the capacity of the brewing vessel.

With the material-tax, the raw products which are used in the preparation of beer are figured out either before or at the beginning of the operation. For this form of taxation, hops and malt or barley are chiefly to be taken into consideration. The hop tax is not practicable, because hops are very unequally used in the preparation of beer; this, by the way, is also true of the malt tax. The hop tax existed in England during the period of 1830 to 1862. Norway has a tax on barley, and there before the malting the quantity of the grain which is put into the barley funnel is officially determined and the tax reckoned accordingly. Another species of the same tax is the malt tax, which is either determined in the act of grinding in the mill or in the act of mashing (mash-tax). In the malt tax proper an official watch is kept over the transportation of malt to and from the mill; in the mash tax the quantity of the material has to be officially determined before the act of mashing.

In the mash-tub tax and the kettle tax the tax is fixed according to the capacity of the works. With the former, which is in vogue in Russia, Belgium, and Holland, the capacity of the mash-vessel is the foundation, while in the latter, which prevails in Baden and Alsace-Lorraine, the capacity of the boiling kettle is the foundation for figuring out the tax. In this kind of taxation the kettle

and mash-vessel are, of course, officially watched and controlled.

In the manufacture tax which prevails in the United States, the tax is measured according to the number of barrels of beer to be shipped, and a stamp is placed over the bung-hole in such a manner that it has to be destroyed when the barrel is opened. This is controlled by the inspection of the brewers' books, by the accounts kept by the internal revenue officers as to the materials received at and sent away from the brewery, as well as by a supervision of the entire beer traffic. This form of tax is easily collected and in this respect is distinguished from many other forms of taxation. It is unjust, however, because it does not take the quality into consideration, but only the quantity. The cheap and bad beer which the poor man gets is taxed just as high as the rich and good beer which the well-to-do drink. The quality of beer is considered in the taxation of the product in Austria, Italy and England, by fixing the amount of the tax according to the amount of sugar in the wort.

In the bottled-beer industry, which has increased considerably within the last few years in the United States, certain regulations have been made in order to collect the government tax on beer which is sent out in bottles. The quantity of beer which goes into the bottles is accurately controlled, and infringements are punished with heavy fines and under certain conditions with confiscation of the brewery. The payment of the tax is effected, as with the barrel beer, by means of stamps, which, however, have to be officially destroyed and made worthless in the presence of the collector and the brewer.

Tremendous sums they are which the modern states—only a few of them have let beer as an object for taxation escape them—derive from the beer-tax. Germany, with the exception of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, de-

rives from its taxation of beer more than 30 million marks (\$7,500,000) a year, and with the recent increase in the rate of taxation will in future get far more yet. This is also the case with Bavaria, which has been receiving over forty million marks a year from its malt tax; Württemberg raises ten million and Baden seven million marks by means of the malt tax. Austria, outside of Hungary, draws a yearly income of seventy-six million crowns (over \$15,000,000) from the beer tax. Belgium raises fourteen million francs (\$2,800,000); England as much as £13,250,000, or more than \$66,000,000. The United States comes next to England. It collects a beer tax amounting in round numbers to \$60,000,000 a year, and in some years—as, for instance, 1901—has brought the sum above \$75,000,000.

The present beer tax in the United States is a child of the war. When the South in the beginning of the sixties declared its independence from the Union, and the latter was forced to fight for its existence, besides raising the necessary men for its army, it had to provide the necessary amount of money for the maintenance of this army. Among the taxes introduced as a result of this condition, was that on beer; a tax of one dollar for every barrel of beer brewed was imposed. Originally from September 1, 1862, until September 1, 1866, the tax was collected in cash by the officials. From that time on, under a law which was accepted upon the proposition of the united brewery capitalists, the tax was collected by means of stamps which the brewers had to buy from the internal revenue office.

When the war ceased and the burdens of war no longer pressed hard, the beer tax nevertheless seemed such an acceptable source of revenue to the Federal government that there was no thought of abolishing it. Until the year 1898 the "one dollar per barrel tax" was maintained. Then

came a new war, and Uncle Sam quickly doubled the beer tax. Instead of one dollar, two dollars per barrel were now collected, until, a few years later, they returned to the one dollar per barrel rate.

Since 1862 the United States has derived an income of over one thousand million dollars from the tax on the preparation of beer, and to this must be added considerable sums which it derived from duties on imported beer, but especially from duties on the importation of raw materials for the breweries, such as barley and hops.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, in the tariff of 1789, a duty of five cents per gallon on ale and beer was imposed, for the purpose of protecting the breweries of New York and Philadelphia from the competition of foreign countries. In 1818 the duty was raised to ten and fifteen cents per gallon. In addition to this protective tariff, there existed at that time also a state taxation of beer, ale and porter amounting to six per cent on the value of the product, which brought an income of \$50,000 in the year 1815. In 1840 the import duty on beer was still fifteen cents per gallon if the beverage came in barrels, while for bottled beer a duty of twenty cents per gallon prevailed. In 1846 the duty on beer was raised to thirty per cent on its value, and in 1862, when the war emptied the government treasury, the duty on beer was increased to thirty cents per gallon in bottles, and in 1864 to thirty-five cents. For beer other than in bottles the duty was fixed at twenty cents a gallon. After various changes, the Dingley tariff finally fixed the import duty on beer in bottles at forty cents and on other beer at twenty cents per gallon.

Uncle Sam derives gigantic sums out of the taxation of beer, and in return for them he has paid very little attention to the brewing industry and all that is connected with it. He has only attended to securing the tax; how

the product looked on which he imposed duties and taxes was to him a matter of indifference. He did not pay any attention to see that, in addition to the hops, malt, yeast and water, or harmless substitutes such as rice, maize, and other unmalted grain, or in addition to hop extract and brewing sugar, other materials were not used in the preparation of beer which are directly injurious to the consumers and have ruined the health of many. Uncle Sam has not concerned himself about this. He was satisfied when he received his many millions from taxes on the use of beer. He did not care, as long as it did not get altogether too bad, about the health of the consumers, which was only too frequently threatened by profit-greedy and conscienceless brewers through the use of poisonous ingredients.

And yet, who was it that paid the thousand millions which the United States derived from the brewing industry? Was it the brewery capitalists or the consumers of the taxed product? Let us see.

3. WHO PAYS THE INDIRECT TAXES?

The government of the United States costs the people annually about one thousand million dollars. The greater part of this huge sum is raised by internal revenues and import duties. It includes also, of course, the income of the postal service; but this need not be taken into consideration, because the expenses of the operation of this federal enterprise as a rule exceed its income.

The duties which are imposed upon imported goods form the largest part of the federal income. Then follow the internal revenues of almost an equal amount. The internal revenue taxes are indirect taxes—that is, they are not collected directly from the persons who have to pay them, but indirectly from the goods which the people consume. Not the persons are taxed, but the goods.

This is in a large measure also true of the duties. The duty, too, is added by the merchant to the selling price of his goods, and the purchaser, in paying for the goods he buys, pays also the duty which the importer had to turn over to the government of the United States on receipt of the goods.

But for the sake of simplicity, we will confine ourselves in our consideration to internal revenue taxes.

These internal revenue taxes are indirect taxes. They are not—as is, for instance, the income tax—levied upon the personal income, but they are imposed upon some of the articles which the people consume, as tobacco, beer, whisky, coffee, tea, etc. In the United States spirituous drinks, tobacco, and beer are the most important objects of this kind of taxation. According to the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year closing June 30, 1908, the total income from internal taxes amounted to \$251,665,950. Of this sum spirituous drinks proper (whisky, etc.) yielded \$140,158,807; fermented beverages (beer, ale, etc.), \$59,807,616, and tobacco, \$49,862,754. Of the revenue from beer, \$58,747,680 came from the barrel tax, which is raised by the selling of revenue stamps. The remainder of over a million dollars is divided between the special tax which the brewers have to pay for the operation of their industry and the extra tax on large and small beer dealers.

It can be seen what enormous sums the government derives from the use of beverages.

Who, then, pays these millions? Is it the distiller or the brewer who manufactures the whisky, beer, or ale, upon whom the taxes are imposed? Or who is it who has to provide these enormous sums?

No, indirect taxation is the means by which the capitalists in our present society transfer the burden of state upon the non-possessing classes.

The sixty million dollars of taxes which the United States gets from the manufacture of beer, are at first advanced by the brewer when he pays his taxes to the government. But later he adds this tax in some form to the price of his product. The saloon keeper who sells the brewer's beer to the consumer adds the price of his license—in the city of New York this amounts to \$1,200 a year for each saloon—and other expenses to the price of his beer. The consumer, however, insensibly pays in the price of his glass of beer, not only the entire amount of the beer tax, but also the saloon license, the bribes for the police and politicians—in short, all the expenses which the brewer and the saloon keeper seem to have in the pursuit of their trade.

It has already been mentioned that the consumption of beer, especially the use of lager beer, is closely connected with industrial development. In the main it is the wage-workers who use this beer, and it is they who have to raise the larger part of the enormous sums which the Union derives from the taxation of the beer industry.

It is evident that such a tax is unjust. The rich brewer, the capitalist in general, is very little if at all affected by it. The rich man, whose income is a hundred or a thousand times that of the workingman, does not drink more beer, for example, than the workingman. He does not therefore contribute any more to the tax than the poor devil who permits himself a glass of beer. The indirect tax, therefore, does not affect the individual person in proportion to his capital or his income, but it falls in much larger proportion upon the unpropertied masses—which, of course, has this advantage for the government and the ruling classes, that the latter do not have to pay, since the propertyless constitute the mass of the population, who altogether contribute such enormous sums as it would be very difficult to collect from the capitalists

by direct taxation. And as a rule the poor man does not even realize that he is paying taxes. He does not know that he pays taxes in the act of laying down his nickel for his glass of beer or his package of tobacco.

So it is not the brewery capitalists, but the workingmen, who pay the sixty million of internal revenue which Uncle Sam derives annually from the brewing industry, and the same is true of the other indirect taxes.

The ruling bourgeoisie, however, seeks to deny this shifting of the indirect taxes upon the shoulders of the working class, and seeks to make the world believe by all kinds of sophistry that it is the owning class which has to bear the burden of taxation. But their own writers show that this is not so. The French scholar Sismondi declared:

"It is a very unjust and inhuman proposition, that oft repeated one to abolish all direct taxes and to raise all the income of the state by indirect consumption taxes, because it practically amounts to the proposition to free all the rich from all taxes and to get the taxes from the poor alone. In some respects it would mean to return to the feudal system, where the nobleman pays nothing; but in this new way it would even mean an increase in aristocracy, namely, it would be sufficient to become rich in order by this fact alone to be freed from the taxes."

Since Sismondi wrote this, the capitalists have long ago realized the proposition then made. But, more clever than the aristocracy, they have understood how to secure for themselves freedom from taxation without the mass of the people finding it out.

As to the effect of the indirect tax upon the condition of the workingman another writer, the Englishman, Adam Smith, writes as follows:

"Taxes upon the necessary means of living have almost the same effect upon the fate of the people as unproductive soil or a bad climate. These taxes make provisions dearer in the same way as if it took more work or expense to produce them."

It will be seen, therefore, that workingmen have every reason to declare themselves against indirect taxation and to demand that the expenses of the capitalistic state be provided by taxes which affect the capitalists who have an interest in the maintenance of this state, which in the main is nothing else than an institution for keeping down the workingmen.

A progressive income tax and taxation of inheritances would be taxes of the kind which the rich would be unable to shift upon the poor. The larger a man's income, the larger the tax should be which he has to pay on the basis of this income for the maintenance of the state, and the laughing heir of a large inheritance could without great difficulty turn over a quarter or a half of the inherited fortune for the support of the community, until finally the day comes when private incomes and private inheritances are not possible.

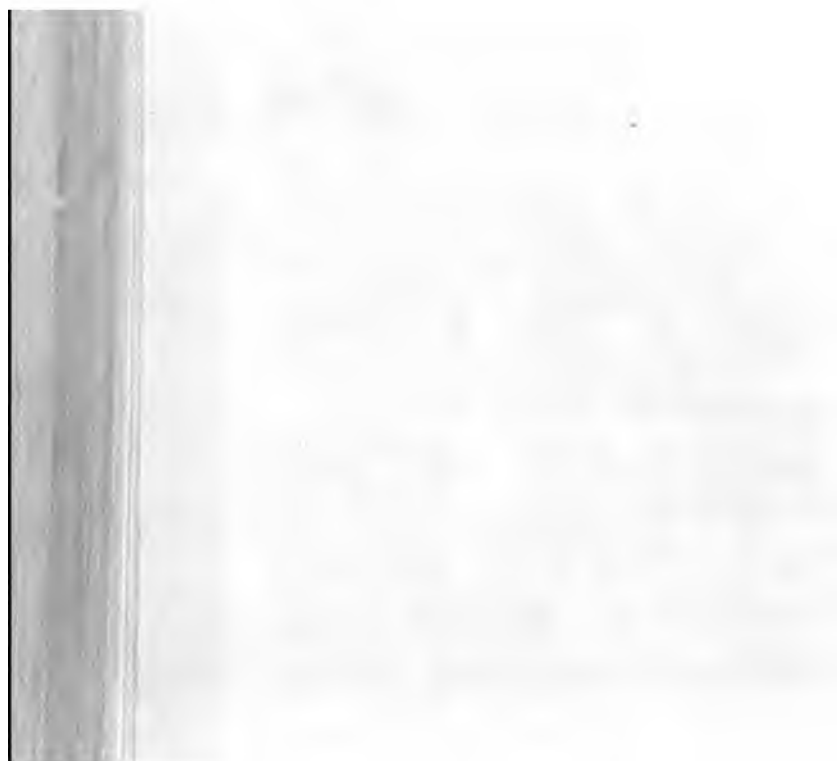
If the brewery capitalists should point out that at certain times they, too, had to bear a part of the beer tax, it can be replied that beer brewing first had to win its field, that it had to compete with the whisky industry. If in such cases a part of the indirect tax was borne by the brewers—that is, if it was paid out of the surplus value which the brewery capitalists accumulated by exploiting the workingmen—this was only, so to speak, as a business expense which was necessary in order to conquer the field and to compete with other beverages. It has also to be taken into consideration that the shifting of the indirect taxes upon the masses does not always take the form of increasing the price of the goods. By deteriorating of the quality, and in the case of beer by decreasing the measure, the tax is shifted by the capitalist upon the masses.

We have seen that the increase in the price of provisions and articles of consumption, by the imposition of

an indirect tax, does not by any means bring about an increase in wages. The taxes shifted upon the workingmen, then, mean for him a decrease in his standard of living. In other words, the workingman must restrict his consumption to the extent of the sum to which the tax amounts.

What can be done against this? Fight! Fight for higher wages, reduced working hours, improved working conditions! But besides this industrial struggle which each group of industry conducts for itself, the struggle of the workingman is necessary for the freeing of labor itself, for the destruction of the whole capitalistic system! Struggle for the formation of a human society in which there will be no wage-work and no exploitation, no ruler and no ruled, no capitalists and no wage-workers! The industrial struggle is but a part of the great general struggle of the working class for a better future—a future which will be of benefit not only to the workingmen, but to all humanity.

This struggle can and will be fought out by the working class alone.



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